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Military Review

THE TRUTH of the military dictum that surprise is an essential element of success in war has never been made more evident than by the Japanese. As one of Nimitz's ablest officers has remarked, they are a little slow on the uptake; faced with a novel combination or method, they manage to go wildly wrong, as at Midway or in the defense of Luzon. The same officer also noted that, given time to think the thing through, they usually came up with the militarily correct answer. This is the reason for the bloody character of the fighting on Iwo, where, for the first time in the Pacific war, the losses of our attacking forces appear to be running above those of the defenders.

There was no surprise in any dimension. Since the capture of the Marianas nearly eight months ago, it must have appeared evident to the Japanese general staff that the main line of our advance toward metropolitan Japan lay through the little volcanic island. They themselves made the attack strategically necessary by using the place as a counter-bomber base against our B-29's. These giant planes, which take care of themselves so well in the air, are quite unprotectable on the ground, which is doubtless one of the reasons why they have not been used in Europe.

At the same time we had taught the Japanese precisely what to expect in the nature of landing operations, by the series of attacks beginning at Tarawa, running through Kwajalein-Eniwetok, Saipan, Guam and Peleliu; and they were given time to absorb the information and work out the answers. Isn't it significant that after Kwajalein, where the American technique first emerged from the experimental stage of Tarawa, our forces should encounter progressively greater difficulties and higher proportionate losses all through the series? During all this time the improvement on our side has been quantitative only; the enemy has improved his methods to the point where the defense may now be called superior to the attack except quantitatively.

It is somewhat disturbing that our leaders could apparently think of no method for overcoming the improving defenses at Iwo but the intensification and lengthening of the preliminary bombardment, which seems to indicate a certain inability on their part to think things out. One is reminded of the British commanders of 1916 and 1917 who kept lengthening the period of preparatory fire by which they gained a few hundred yards of German trenches till it reached eleven days. It is no easier for anyone outside the battle areas to see what improvement is necessary for the capture of other islands now than it was during the last war to see what change would yield better results against the trench systems. But it may be pointed out that in 1917 General Allenby, and in 1918 General Ludendorff, discovered means of breaking through field fortifications.

General Eisenhower's western-front offensive appears also to have been made without benefit of surprise; for at least three weeks the German radio has been talking about preparations for it, "which the Americans are not even trying to conceal." But it is far too early yet to say there have not been, or will not be, surprises for the Nazis there. Back in January they quite clearly expected an attack from the Sandomiercz bridgehead held by the Russians, but Marshal

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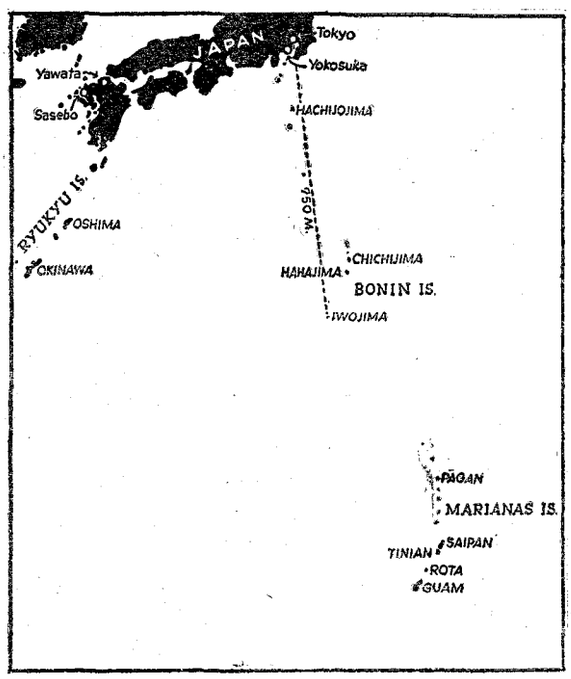
Konev surprised them all the same, by appearing with troops so numerous and transport so well organized that when the Germans had made their preliminary retreat, they were attacked in the new positions by forces which had expended none of their energy in crossing the "protective cell." At El Alamein Rommel fully expected to be attacked by Montgomery, but the latter's novel tactics achieved a very good surprise.

We did not, on February 25, have anything to indicate that either of these types of surprise is being practised in the Rhineland, and the early geographical gains are meaningless; but a rather curious note is furnished by some of the German commentators, who seem more worried by what is happening on the First Army front in the shadow of the Eifel range than by what is going on in the plains country below. The rough, broken country in which most of our troops are fighting offers military difficulties that no one should minimize; but to soldiers of the methodical cast of mind of Eisenhower, Montgomery and Bradley, who are at their best in carefully planned operations, it offers unlimited opportunities for surprises of every kind.

In the east the wave of Russian captures or German surrenders stopped rather abruptly (except for previously encircled Poznan, some of the figures from which may appear in previous summaries), which would indicate that fresh German troops from the west, and the general reserve, have stabilized matters. The game there would appear to have settled down to one of assembling on both sides for an offensive. The Germans still have points of issue in Pomerania and the Moravian gap for a counter-attack; but they would find it very difficult to make, if Zhukov broke through and laid Berlin under siege at the center, since such a move would interrupt the communications between their widely spread wings.



The Importance of Iwo

The 750 miles between Japan and the island where the Marines are having so rough a time is too long a gap for fighters from that island to give our B-29's full cover on their raids; but fighter cover is a convenience rather than a necessity to a B-29. The island is really important for two quite different reasons. Its capture will prevent raids by light planes against the B-29's on the ground, where they can neither be concealed nor defended; and by using the place as an air base, our forces can severely restrict the area of Jap reconnaisance by keeping the Bonin fields in constant trouble.

The Little Steel Formula Again

Organized labor's campaign to increase wages above the Little Steel formula has hit a new low. The War Labor Board has decided six to three against any upward revision at this time, the public and industry members standing unanimously against the three labor members on the question. Even more important, Judge Fred Vinson, chairman of the Office of Economic Stabilization, is continuing to insist on reviewing and approving in advance all wage increases favored by the WLB in view of their effect on possible price increases. The CIO members of the WLB point out that this Vinson policy has "completely emasculated" the power of the Board to make decisions. Labor sees no attempt by the Vinson office to make industry absorb wage increases out of profits, making higher prices unnecessary, and therefore, it sees no end to the rejections its applications for increases regularly receive.

There is a difference of opinion within labor as to how to meet this situation and a sharp difference within the CIO itself. Emil Rieve, president of the CIO Textile Workers' Union, has taken matters into his own hands by resigning from membership on the WLB and releasing the 100,000 members of his union from their no-strike pledge. Other union heads propose to thrash the matter out in the coming meeting of the CIO international board and stand by the majority decision on what course to follow. Rieve and Walter Reuther of the UAW are expected to urge formal CIO withdrawal from WLB. Others will certainly insist that the "no-strike" pledge adopted at the CIO convention had no strings on it, that it cannot be tossed aside while the war is going on, that withdrawal from the WLB leaves no alternative except a return to the economic weapon of strike, which neither labor nor the public generally will support in wartime.

President Roosevelt will soon be receiving new protests on Vinson's action from stanch pro-Administration Senators who see the consequences of the present wage policy as clearly as do the labor leaders who have protested so often before. By setting himself up as a one-man board of review over the actions of a tri-partite body like the WLB, Judge Vinson is injecting an element not to be found in the original Stabilization Act.

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The Labor Board Decision

At first glance, we are at a loss to understand the logic of the Labor Board's report to the President. Its statement that widespread wage increases which would result only in price increases should be avoided is axiomatic. But we have seen no evidence that this would be the case with the more important wage increases now demanded; in fact, the evidence seems to run the other way. Furthermore, there is no point in refusing to revise the Little Steel formula, which holds wage increases to 15 percent, if, as the Board asserts, wages have risen on the average 36.7 percent. Surely there would be no harm in admitting the simple justice of wage increases equal to the rise in the cost of living, which officially is 29.4 percent on the average. Even in Britain, which has far more drastic labor controls than the United States, and has avoided inflation, nobody questions that wages should keep pace with the cost of living.

There is doubt also about the Board's statement that the fair measure of wage increases is to be found in straight-time hourly earnings rather than in wage rates. As labor spokesmen point out, hourly earnings include the effect of higher productivity and promotions—and increases in earnings for these reasons do not affect costs of production.

It appears that the Board's whole reasoning about the avoidance of inflation is fuzzy. Its mind would be clearer if it would adopt the following basic principles:

1. Wage rates should be allowed to rise as much as the cost of living has already risen.

2. The way to keep prices down is to control them directly, letting the burden of justified wage increases fall on swollen profits.

3. As far as the inflationary effect of an excess of purchasing power is concerned, the proper remedy, as in the case of the gains of business and farmers derived from large war production, lies in taxes plus savings.

The Little Steel formula has become, in the main, a meaningless and mischievous shibboleth.

Aubrey Williams for the REA

Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois rose in the Senate Agriculture Committee the other day to rebuke his colleagues sharply for the scandalous treatment they had accorded the witness before them. He was talking about Aubrey Williams, who was being cross-examined on his qualifications to serve as head of the Rural Electrification Administration, a job to which he had been nominated by the President. Senator Lucas said that never in his memory had a nominee for an important post been treated with such disrespect or subjected to such irresponsible attacks.

We are glad that at least one member of the Senate Committee had the grace to make this public denunciation of the McKellars and Bilbos among his fellows. Reasoning Senators must conclude from the direction the investigation of Mr. Williams has taken that his enemies have little or no valid ground for their objections to his appointment. If there were skeletons in Mr. Williams' professional closet, his opponents would scarcely be making their case against him on matters of personal religious beliefs or discredited charges of Communist connections. We trust that the good sense of the Senate will prevail and that Aubrey Williams will be confirmed without further delay.

The Campaign against Glass

A great propaganda campaign is in progress against Senator Carter Glass in Virginia. The people of his state are being told that Senator Glass is so ill he can no longer carry out any of his duties, and that he should be forced to resign and let some vigorous young man take his place. What the propaganda does not say is that the men behind this propaganda object to Senator Glass's comparative liberalism, especially on foreign affairs. They would like to get him out because they think they could replace him by another intransigent Tory like Senator Byrd. To suit their purpose, they greatly exaggerate Senator Glass's incapacity. While it is true that he has not for a considerable period of time been present on the Senate floor, he follows affairs closely, and on all important votes he arranges to be paired with someone on the other side. On international questions, we can count on him to kill one isolationist vote. In fact, the real grievance of the anti-Roosevelt bloc against Senator Glass is not that he is ineffective, but just the contrary.

Mr. Moss and "Trio"

New York City is struggling with another case of censorship. A play called "Trio," by Dorothy and Howard Baker, adapted from a novel by the former, has been ordered off the boards by Mr. Paul Moss, New York City License Commissioner. The theatre in which the play has been running recently changed hands, and Mr. Moss refused to issue a license to the new owners unless "Trio" was withdrawn. It is true that the theme of the play is lesbianism, and it is also true that a New York State statute forbids theatrical performances dealing with this subject. "Trio," however, is a serious discussion of an important matter; Stark Young wrote, reviewing it for the *New Republic*, "The treatment is marked by good taste, serious feeling and dignity of thought, and should offend nobody." Mr. Moss has constituted himself an extra-legal censor of theatrical morals; we are aware of nothing in his character, education or cultural background which would fit him for that post, even if New York wanted to descend to the level of Boston, which it clearly does not. His decision is being fought by the Critics' Circle, Actors' Equity, the League of New York Theatres, the National Council on Freedom from

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Censorship and the American Civil Liberties Union. While we are at it, the New York State law just mentioned should be repealed. It was never intended to apply to a play like "Trio," but to obscenity in burlesque theatres, against which there is ample authority under the ordinary powers of the police.

Manpower Legislation

The Senate Committee on Military Affairs has finally reported out its version of the "work-or-fight" legislation approved by the House. The Committee has hopelessly bungled its job and now after weeks of discussion has dumped a confused and inadequate bill into the lap of the Senate. In order to act intelligently, the Senate will be forced to take up valuable floor time to reconsider the whole manpower problem in detail. The committee's recommendation does not follow the lines of the compulsory May-Bailey bill passed in the House, which was vigorously opposed by labor. Neither is it the compromise proposal favored by the CIO, AFL, NAM, Railroad Brotherhoods and the National Farmers' Union. At the last moment, amendments sponsored by Senators Austin and Tydings, providing fines and imprisonment for employers who violate manpower ceilings and a plan for "freezing" 4F's and farm labor, were tacked onto the labor-industry plan, so confusing things that many of the committee members themselves reserved the right to vote against the measure on the floor.

Progressive leaders in the Senate will press for speedy action on the committee report and will urge its passage by the Senate, minus the amendments. This is by far the best way out of a legislative mess.

Savings Bank Life Insurance

Life insurance costs too much, for reasons which do not necessarily reflect upon the life-insurance companies, many of which operate on a coöperative system. One important reason for the high cost is that so many people need to be sold their insurance, through expensive agents, instead of walking in and buying it, so that the thrifty and provident are penalized for the negligence of the opportunistic: the ant must help support the grasshopper. Among those disturbed by this state of affairs was the late Mr. Justice Louis Brandeis; after long agitation he succeeded in persuading three states, Massachusetts, New York and Connecticut, to institute savings-bank life insurance. In these states, savings banks which elect to do so are permitted to sell insurance, but not to employ selling agents of any sort. The money thus saved goes into a lower cost to the policy-holder; in New York, for example, the average saving on life insurance of the ordinary type is 15 percent, and on certain varieties of industrial insurance it is as high as 48 percent.

When the bill was introduced in New York State, the insurance agents fought it bitterly, and succeeded in attaching to it a crippling amendment which does not exist in Massachusetts. Under this amendment, no individual can hold more than $3,000 in savings-bank life insurance. But this makes the overhead expense of the administration needlessly high; it takes as much time and trouble to institute $3,000 of life insurance as it would to institute $10,000 or $100,000. If the banks were permitted to write as much insurance on any individual as their own good judgment advised, their cost per thousand would go down at least 10 percent, perhaps more, and all the saving would be passed on to policy-holders, of whom there are now in New York 40,000 with $45 million of insurance in force. A bill has just been introduced in the New York State legislature increasing the limit to $7,500. We can see no reason why there should be any limit whatever in law; Massachusetts gets along well without one. However, $7,500 is a great deal better than $3,000. If you live in New York State, or are interested in this subject, you should support this bill.

California Health Bills

Compulsory health insurance is nearing realization in California. Governor Warren, in an attempt to take the ball away from the Democrats who had favored compulsory health legislation under the previous Governor, Culbert Olson, has had a bill introduced in the legislature. But the CIO, today California's most progressive pressure group, although indorsing the Governor's program in principle, has come forward with its own health-insurance plan which it is submitting to a popular initiative, with good hope for success. The CIO's plan is unquestionably the better. While in the Governor's plan physicians would be paid on the traditional fee system, the CIO program provides for compensation on a capitation basis, under which the physician receives a fixed sum, per month or per year, regardless of the number of visits or the amount of treatment. This type of compensation would undoubtedly promote better health. The two plans also differ in their financing aspects. The Governor's bill provides for a three-percent tax on wages, one-half payable by the workers, one-half by the employers. The CIO plan also includes these provisions, but would have the state pay for all administrative costs. Although the California Medical Association opposes both bills, one of them, or a combination of both, seems certain to be law in the not too distant future.

Doing Pretty Well

The reactionary press continues to charge that the Roosevelt Administration is trying to destroy "private enterprise" and has already gone quite a distance in that direction with its excess-profits taxes, hampering "bureaucratic restrictions" and other things. We notice, however, from the *Wall Street Journal*, that the net working capital of American corporations is now $46.5

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billion, an all-time high. It is nearly double what it was in 1939, which was $24.6 billion. The new record figure, moreover, does not include postwar credits in refundable taxes which are already $2 billion and are increasing at the rate of almost $1 billion annually. Perhaps the conservatives believe the government is planning a cannibal-missionary technique: first fatten them up, and then eat them.

People in the Limelight: Collier and Brophy

The peculiarities of a little man named John Collier have often been the subject of conversation in Washington. He was credited with being a dreamer, a thing which always arouses the suspicions of Congress; he smoked a corncob pipe, worked in an old green sweater, wore his hair long and unbrushed and, according to the gossips, sometimes carried a pet frog in his pocket. The most peculiar thing about John Collier, however, was that he had a deep and abiding interest in the welfare of the Indians of this country, and the intelligence and courage to fight in their behalf. Now, after twelve years as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier has resigned. He leaves behind him a consistent record of progress, a record achieved in spite of frequent opposition from Congress. He was the main source of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the most important law in the history of our dealings with the Indian minority. He has seen to it that as far as possible the intent of this act has been fulfilled, although Congress has often denied adequate appropriations to carry out its purpose. As a result of his efforts, the condition of the Indian is better today than ever before under our government, and his future is brighter.

To succeed Collier, the President has chosen William A. Brophy of New Mexico, a man with an intimate knowledge of Indian life, a liberal, and an able administrator, well suited to carry on Collier's work.

The Mexico City Conference

THE CONFERENCE of the Foreign Ministers of the American republics, now meeting at Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City, is the most important inter-American parley since 1933, when Secretary of State Cordell Hull journeyed to Montevideo and formally inagurated the Good Neighbor Policy. The conference is important because once more, as in 1933, the burden of proof for that policy rests squarely on the shoulders of the United States. The truth which the United States delegation must face is that, in addition to the need for solving the many political and economic problems of common interest to all the nations of the Western hemisphere in the transition period from war to peace, relations between this country and our neighbors to the south have increasingly worsened in the years since the outbreak of war.

This has been due, to a large extent, to Washington's failure to understand the internal developments that have taken place in many Latin American countries, changes which should have been met by instantaneously adjusting and implementing our policy to fit the new situation. Instead, our policy has largely proceeded on the assumption that all that is needed for the maintenance of good neighborliness is friendly relations on the foreign-office level. Consequently, our policy was conducted in a vacuum that had little connection with reality. The curious argument prevailed that the decisive test of a Latin American nation's good standing was its partnership in the war against the Axis. The question of domestic fascism or dictatorship was conveniently disregarded. Our difficulties with Argentina, and Spain's continued influence in Latin America, hovering like a shadow over the Chapultepec conference, are symptomatic.

Evidently, the main objection of our State Department to the existing regime in Argentina is not that it is fascist, but that it broke the apparent solidarity of the American republics by remaining adamant to the original United States pressure to enter the war against, or at least to break with, the Axis. This is not the place for a lengthy discussion of the many reasons why Argentina refused to follow the example, for instance, of Brazil, a country whose governmental setup differs little from the regime now in power in Argentina. The reasons were partly *ad-hoc* opportunistic considerations of the Argentinian ruling class which, foolishly of course, banked on a German victory. Partly they were the heritage of Argentina's traditional foreign policy, which had always been hostile, at inter-American conferences and elsewhere, to United States

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Sanctuary for War Criminals

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leadership in the Western hemisphere. Finally, there was the matter of our friendly attitude toward Franco's Spain, as fascist as—if not more so than—Argentina, but whose pro-Axis foreign policy we never made the occasion for official rebuke or intervention. This fact undoubtedly encouraged the Argentinian fascists in their claim that our policy of non-recognition and non-intercourse with themselves smacked of old "Big Stick" diplomacy.

We should not be blind to the fact that these arguments are shared by some of the other Latin American nations. Although one of the United States proposals at the conference asks for the creation of a mechanism which would eliminate the fascist threat from abroad to these republics, they are at present more concerned with those aspects of United States policy which, by omission or commission, might endanger their future as democratic and prosperous countries. They know that fascism, as it exists in Argentina or Brazil, is not just an imported product, but that it develops when economic and social conditions are permitted to exist which make strong-arm regimes inevitable. Mexico's Foreign Minister, Ezequiel Padilla, plainly challenging the United States, drew a vivid picture of the Latin American reality in his opening speech at the conference:

> In the Americas we must put an end to the Dantesque spectacle of men without homes, eaten away by tuberculosis, malaria, malnutrition and silicosis. An end must come in America to the somber picture that cannot be described in words—of the jobless man who, in the midst of his country's indifference, goes home night after night clenching his fists, without bread for his children. . . . Let us become industrialized by building an American world of consumers and high standards of living, by breaking the shackles of our agricultural communities which, incapable of creating large capital for industrialization, have continued producing only raw materials in the old colonial pattern, exploited by the highly industrialized countries.

The execution of such a program is impossible without United States help. This has been recognized in Washington, where the Foreign Economic Administration and its predecessor, the Board of Economic Warfare, have built our wartime program of agricultural and industrial development in Latin America on the basis of a lasting postwar plan, the beneficiaries of which would be not only this country but also the Latin American people. For they are increasingly aware of the need for basic political, economic and social reforms at home. The political changes and revolutions of the last few years in Central America, Argentina, Bolivia or Ecuador had little in common with the old familiar pattern of the strong man's seizure of power. They were due to social and economic dislocations in the wake of war, growing popular demands for better government and the ideological conflicts of our time. In short, the common man is emerging in Latin America as a vital political factor. Unless we recognize these changes and give active support to the stirring progressive movements in Latin America, our Good Neighbor Policy will be nothing but an empty gesture, and domestic fascism, thriving under adverse economic conditions, will be the harvest.

A concrete test for such understanding will be our immediate policy in connection with the cutbacks in our purchases of raw materials in Latin America which will be inevitable at the end of the war. It is a major issue facing the United States delegation at Chapultepec. The Latin American nations not only expect that the cutbacks will be as gradual as possible, but they also want assurances that we are prepared to buy their raw materials after the war in exchange for agricultural machinery and industrial equipment, so necessary for their economic progress.

There is, as at previous inter-American conferences, a grave danger that the conferees may lose themselves in technical details instead of tackling vital issues. The reports that have come from Mexico City so far sound ominous indeed. There will no doubt be much talk, abounding in legalistic quibbling to conceal political demands, about the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in anticipation of the San Francisco conference. There will be violent disagreement over the Argentine and Spanish questions. Ultimately, the success or failure of the conference will depend on the leadership which the United States delegation is able to give. The Argentine issue will greatly depend on our policy in the Spanish matter, and our Spanish policy, if we want to be respected by Latin America, must be unequivocal. For the truth is that Spain is still closer to most Latin Americans than we are. But to take the ball away from Spain is not the task of the United States delegation in Mexico City, but of President Roosevelt and Congress. The task of Mr. Stettinius at the Chapultepec conference is to prove to Latin Americans that we understand their problems and that we are ready to implement our words with deeds.

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A Journal of Opinion

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America and Britain after Victory

I. *The British Temper*

In discussions of the future peace it is usually assumed that the chief protection against a new war will be coöperation among the three great powers, codified in some security pact like that outlined at Dumbarton Oaks. But, whatever treaty is ratified, it is far from certain that these powers will in fact and for a long period pursue harmonious policies. In particular there is danger that Britain and the United States, with their respective economic spheres of influence, will drift apart. And this peril lies mainly not in political faults like American isolationism or British imperialism, or in weakness of military guarantees against aggression, but in the realm of economic policy. At least, that is where it is likely to arise. And having arisen there, it can lead the world to a disaster which formal political or military commitments can do little to avert.

In order to appreciate the economic issues, one must first understand something of the British state of mind. It is difficult for an American who has not recently visited England to feel the wideness of the gulf which separates us, or the constrictions of the channels of communication which tenuously bridge it.

To say that Britain is three thousand miles closer to the war than the United States is to express not only a geographical but a social fact. The ocean between is traversed by planes carrying their small quotas of military and official persons, who for the most part can say little in public. The steamers are jammed with soldiers going one way and wounded coming back; ordinary visitors can rarely get abroad, and even then they must have some semi-official or journalistic mission of importance. Travel is slow and immensely uncomfortable; the movements of the ships are shrouded in mystery, even from the passengers. Mail is delayed; cables censored. British newspapers print American dispatches, but they are limited to a few pages and there is little room for color or background material. Though they do an excellent job with the space at their disposal, too often they quote sour comments from the American isolationist press, or from some unimportant congressman, without any explanation of the degree of representativeness of the source. The consequence is that their readers are puzzled; if it is difficult even for Americans to judge correctly how things are going in this country, it is ten times as difficult for Englishmen.

To be in a war zone is not at all the same as reading about it or hearing from it on the radio. London, which contains about one-quarter of the British people, has been a battlefield. If other towns in southern England are added, nearly half the civilian population has been under fire. It is not now so bad as it used to be, but one is reminded of it almost every day by feeling the building shake, sensing the rattle of the windows, and then hearing the explosion of the V bomb. People go about as if nothing had happened; indeed there is nothing to be done about it. It is like being out in a thunderstorm: there is little sense in hiding, for no one can tell when or where the lightning will strike next. You know each time that something and probably somebody has been demolished, but the chance of its being you comes to seem so small that it is just part of the day's routine.

Nevertheless nobody can forget that there is a vengeful enemy within range. The traces of his work are seen in the nearly vacant lots (many of them now converted into surface reservoirs for firemen, in case a water main should be broken), in the occasional wall along the sidewalk, complete with windows and cornices but shielding vacant space instead of a house, in the marks of bomb fragments and bullets on the buildings, in the windows filled with cardboard instead of glass—while the winter chill seeps in and there is a shortage of fuel. Every corner has its sign pointing to shelter or to a gas-elimination station.

Englishmen go about their business as if these things did not exist; they say they have almost forgotten about the blitzes. But the traces are there, not far below the level of consciousness, and they do something to one's feeling for life. There is nothing like a sense of peril to quicken the nerves. Experience is always more vivid to one who is recovering from a serious illness.

To an American, at least, the most arresting sight is not the physical destruction, but its human outflow in the form of the nightly sleepers in the tube stations. After 10 p. m. every station is full of them, rolled up in their blankets on the tiered iron bunks, or sitting and chatting while they wait for the time to turn in. Many of them are there, not out of habit, or because of real or fancied danger, but because they have been bombed out and literally have no other place to sleep. It gives one a start to see a bespectacled middle-aged woman lying on a cot in a station with as much traffic as Times Square, trying to read a book in the dim light while the trains rumble by within fifteen feet of her and men and women in uniform pour in and out, crowding against her bed as they pass.

The legendary imperturbability of the English is not insensitiveness: it is partly a matter of understatement in behavior as in speech, partly a consequence of sturdy self-containment, and partly an

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unwillingness to admit that they can be annoyed, especially by enemies whom they despise. There are quantities of stories about it, relished by the British themselves. A crowd in a theatre sitting through the show after a bomb has blown down the scenery; an old woman with a cane waiting to cross the street while a buzz-bomb with a fighter plane in pursuit roars along above her—she does not even look up, but turns to right and left to make sure there are no approaching jeeps; the clubmen in the lounge reading their papers while the night is deafened with an air raid—a club attendant passes about the circle with an incendiary dud in a pail and shows it to each in turn, while he screws his monocle into his eye and ejaculates, "God bless my soul!" But don't let anyone tell you that the English are not conscious that they have been in mortal peril, individually and nationally.

As in the army, it is not the dramatic incidents that wear down endurance so much as the boredom and minor discomforts. The people are adequately nourished, according to the standards of scientific nutrition, as they never have been before. But the food is monotonous and uninteresting. Rarely is there any fresh fruit. An egg in the shell is as scarce as a diamond; scrambled eggs are made out of powder, and though they are edible, they don't taste like eggs. Milk is a mixture of powder and water, except for children, and you can't have any for your porridge. Bacon is "American bacon," though it is more largely composed of fat than any we see on our breakfast tables, and is usually boiled instead of being fried crisp. (This is a standing grievance of the British against us.) Sausages are concocted from soy-bean flour, with a faint flavoring of pork. Vegetables consist of brussels sprouts, period. Or cabbage, period. You can get better meals by going to restaurants which are beyond the means of most of the people, or by being invited to an American officers' mess, which is a feast of Lucullus in comparison.

Women stand for hours in queues to do their marketing, and even then it takes a higher mathematician to make the points come out right. They can't get people to do housework or help with the children, and if they don't have young children, the government compels them to work, often far from home. They can't get dish towels or dozens of other household necessities. Clothing is strictly rationed, and, in so far as it is serviceable, is depressingly standardized. Most women don't wear hats any more, but kerchiefs.

You stand in queues for buses, taxis, trains, movies and almost everything else that might be convenient or entertaining. When you aren't standing in queues, you are likely to be making out forms or visiting public offices. If you go to a movie or a theatre, assuming you are lucky enough to get a ticket, you have to be there by 6:30 p. m. Night life is over early in the evening, except for those who can walk home; everything stops running, including the Underground, before midnight. (I once arrived at Paddington station on a train due at 10 p. m. but two hours late, and was transported to my hotel in a newspaper truck—a most unusual bit of good luck.)

Of course families are separated, not merely by military service, but by conscription for war work and by evacuation of children. Those who put in full days at their jobs have been using their extra hours and holidays for thousands of part-time war duties, from fighting fires during air raids to running canteens. When plumbing gives out, it is almost impossible to have it repaired. When somebody walks off with a hotel key, each successive occupant has to call for the maid every time he needs to get into his room, and the poor maid spends her days and nights running up and down the corridors. One could go on almost indefinitely with inconveniences arising from the demands of the war on labor and materials. It is amazing with what patience the people endure the interminable grind.

The British will ask the visitor wistfully how London impresses him; whether it doesn't look shabby. They miss the glamor of lights, rich window displays, fine clothing and fine cars. They are conscious of the absence of paint, new upholstery and general tidying up, though they do marvels in clearing away the rubbish whenever bombs strike. Drab military police have replaced the beautifully uniformed guards in front of Whitehall. One Englishman put my feeling exactly—it is, he said, like Moscow before the war, even to the kerchiefed women. Housing shortage, labor shortage, consumers'-goods shortage, rationing, queues—a war economy is no respecter of capitals.

We Americans know the boredom and the annoyance in lower degree, though it is hard to imagine, without experiencing it, how so complete a mobilization as Britain's, installed in an economy which had less surplus to start with, can take most of the margins away from daily life. But there are other and equally important conditions of the British temper which are outside our experience.

The first is the sense of peril, both actual physical peril to the individual, and barely escaped peril of literal conquest which would have ended the nation and its way of life. For weeks volunteers patroled the shores with improvised arms and a scant store of ammunition, while the outcome of the war in the air above their heads was uncertain. All this is now past, but if the same threat should arise again, the result might be less fortunate. Even when victory comes, however, and even if no new war threatens, there will be danger from the economic damage which has occurred. Britain needs large quantities of imports in order to live, and she has lost a large part of her means of paying for them. The question how this obstacle is to be surmounted is never absent from the minds of thinking persons.

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Another difference is the attitude of the British toward their government. Party strife is not absent; the Laborites distrust the Tories, the Tories distrust the Laborites, the Liberals distrust both, and there is a widespread distrust of politicians of all kinds. But all this concerns the question who is to run the government. There is no distrust of government as such, no accepted dogma that a gulf separates government and the people, and that such a gulf is essential to freedom and democracy. It is taken for granted that when any important problem arises, its solution lies at least in part within the province of government, and that government is the agency *par excellence* for the achievement of positive goals. Questions of public policy are decided on pragmatic grounds, not on the basis of vague concepts of liberty or economic slogans like the preservation of private enterprise. Perhaps this is a sign that the British feel more secure in their liberty and democracy than we do.

Finally, there is the cohesive influence of national pride, operating under circumstances quite different from ours. The British are conscious of their long and magnificent history; they have been accustomed to thinking of themselves as the greatest of the nations, not only in terms of military and economic power, but in terms of their special virtues and competences. The fact that recently they alone defied the enemy of mankind at a moment when resistance seemed hopeless, and that they prevailed, has reinforced their pride. This makes the war damage appear like scars of honorable battle; favorite posters depict the ruins, with defiant Britishers surveying them. They are compelled to admit they could not have won without Russia and the United States, and that both these nations are now greater in physical power than they. It is not an easy admission to make; they don't quite like the feeling that henceforth they may have to stand in the second or third rank. But it reinforces their determination to make the most of what they have. They would like to sublimate their sense of importance by transferring loyalty to a genuine world organization, in which they will be equal partners. But in any case they intend to prove that they are more competent than ever to manage their own affairs, and they will endure any necessary sacrifice to render their culture worthy of emulation.

All this helps to explain the sharp British reaction to American criticism of Mr. Churchill's policy in Greece. This policy was almost universally disliked by the English. I did not meet a single person who approved of it, and the government might have fallen on the issue. But they bristled when Americans condemned it. Partly, I think, they were so deeply convinced of the necessity for our coöperation that they hesitated to pursue a domestic quarrel if it embodied the slightest chance of a rift between the nations. Mainly they resented American criticism without assumption of responsibility for something better. We had kept hands off; Greece had been left to the British government; and then because we did not like what that government did, Americans threatened to desert plans for world security. Some of the most bitter critics of the Churchill government were equally resentful of an attitude of perfectionist irresponsibility on this side of the Atlantic. It did not conform to what they conceive to be serious acceptance of the obligation which is inseparable from power.

Against the background of their experience and their resolution, it is easy to understand the British fear of American postwar economic policy—or lack of policy. They have formally pledged, through governmental declaration, to maintain high employment. They have ambitious plans for other means of improving the standard of living—broadened social security, housing, health service, education, nutrition and community life. At the same time they know that in order to survive at all they will have to export far more than before the war. They are confident of managing their end of this job, in one way or another. But they are acutely conscious that the United States is an immensely more important factor in the world economy than they are. We are richer in natural resources, capital, labor power and productive efficiency in many industries. If we choose to try to compete them out of world markets, we can cause them great damage. If we manage our own affairs so badly that we have another depression like that which preceded the war, we shall inevitably drag the whole world down with us. If, on the other hand, we contrive to consume as much as we can produce, maintain full employment at home and remain prosperous, their task will be relatively easy.

Their observation of our history and our political institutions does not give them much confidence that we shall not upset the apple cart. They watch eagerly for signs of intelligence and economic competence here, but they fear that our resources of reflection and control are not able to coördinate our great and muscular economic body, with its immensely energetic but spasmodic activity. We may turn out to be a giant with the mind of a child, devastating through mere inadvertence and immaturity.

The situation needs to be spelled out in far greater detail. What are the British plans for domestic reconstruction and foreign trade and what are their implications? What do the various schools of thought propose to do about the danger which they fear from us? What policies can we follow which will promote objectives common to both nations? These subjects will be briefly explored in future articles.

GEORGE SOULE

This is the first of a series of articles. The second will deal with British plans for reconstruction. — THE EDITORS

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The OPA and the Lobby Boys

THE REAL STRAIN of war on our economy is just beginning to be felt, after three years of mobilizing and fighting. The next few months will be critical, and probably will decide whether we can head off a disastrous boom-and-collapse like the one that followed the last war.

The pressure-group boys are on the rampage in Washington, counterfeiting public opinion in behalf of small segments of our population and special interests, battering at governmental controls which obviously must be continued long after the shooting stops in Germany and Asia, if our fighting men are going to have anything worth while to come home to. Selfishness and vindictiveness on the part of special interests, and ignorance and apathy among large groups of the public, are prime causes of this crisis of 1945 on the home front.

The current OPA situation is an illustration. This sprawling agency, manned in the field largely by nonpaid volunteers, has the primary responsibility for home-front economic mobilization. It is responsible for rent control in war-production areas which include most of the population, and price control and rationing which affect vitally all the population, the armed forces and the national and world economies. Early in the war, we decided as a matter of national policy to have guns and butter, too. So far, we have had both. Our tremendous productive capacity and a few minor privations have carried us through three years of war with success, and no civilian has suffered much. We began last fall to let down in mistaken anticipation of a victory over Germany, only to be snapped up short by the Ardennes offensive. Assistant President Jimmy Byrnes forbade government agencies to engage in postwar planning, and the President and the War Department zealously tried to point the country back toward support of all-out war. (Nearly everyone except the advertising profession and its clients got the idea.)

The demands of the armed forces for a high-pitched fourth year of war, plus war-weariness and the attrition of our civilian economy, have brought us now to a point where some political and general attitudes toward rationing and price control have become intolerant. Many an ordinary citizen, and some businessmen and congressmen, now take the "To hell with it" attitude toward the OPA and its works. This is dangerous. The recent steady rise in the stock market may be evidence that the OPA's efforts to prevent inflation cannot succeed.

The OPA's situation is critical, because shortages are becoming more acute, because the economic dislocation of war has developed great pressure for goods, and because selfish forces, held back by war's urgencies, are beginning to grab for even more profits. The OPA, as the government's agency for control of spending and consumption, is a battle center that will get hotter as the pressures grow. Many people, particularly those in the middle and upper income brackets, are not going to be as comfortable this year as in the past. Meats and some other goods will be scarce, and not enough folks recognize the direct connection that exists between their troubles at the grocery and the needs of their sons at the front.

A recent public-opinion survey showed that most people believe there will be little need for rationing and price control after the war with Germany is won. The fallacy of this belief, which is probably based on the earnest desire of most people to get back to pleasant peacetime pursuits, is obvious. Until the supply of peacetime goods and equipment catches up with the demand—probably several years in the case of automobiles—an impossible situation would be created if we returned to the free market, in which the first comer, the highest bidder, or the dealer's friend, would be served first. It is obvious that price control must be retained and applied through the early stages of reconversion, and that it will then meet its severest test. Rationing must be continued until the supply of goods for civilians is roughly equal to the demand. In the case of gasoline, food, and perhaps tires, this period may come soon after Germany is defeated. But the ravages of war on our economy will continue for a long time.

The OPA and its administrator, Chester Bowles, need public support now more than ever before, when the OPA's place in the spotlight serves chiefly as a target for the knives of the pressure-group boys. Two recent examples show the trend.

One came out in a "confidential" report of William P. Jacobs, who signs himself as executive director of the Print Cloth group of Cotton Manufacturers. Jacobs recently sent out to his clients a "progress report" suggesting intimidation of the OPA through congressmen to prevent limitation of mill profits. This document, filled with effrontery, advises the manufacturers to "prepare amendment to OPA act to use as a threat and to push with organized political pressure, if found necessary, when the OPA seeks another year's extension." The document also urges bringing "political and public pressure in emphasis upon radicals and their profit-limiting efforts in the OPA. Under political heat some of these may wilt. Maybe congressional investigation is indicated." Jacobs also urges, "Please continue letters to and personal conferences with members of Congress stre-

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gers of net-worth formula as a step toward national socialism, urging them to phone Judge Vinson." Actually, this formula is an effort to limit prices to the level charged in a prewar year.

Jacobs' letter revealed that his efforts in Washington, including interviews with Byrnes, Bowles and Economic Stabilization Director Vinson, were directed toward preventing War Labor Board wage increases as well as profit limitations. His report described a "fine, uninterrupted conference of nearly two hours" with Bowles, which actually lasted less than an hour, a large part of which Bowles says Jacobs devoted to telling how badly the cotton-textile industry had previously been represented in Washington. Bowles also has denied flatly Jacobs' claim that final price ceilings on textiles have been delayed pending WLB action, and also that he has been influenced by "pressure higher up."

This instance is important, not because of the damage done to wartime economic stabilization, but because many such efforts, less crudely devised, do bring terrific pressure upon Congress and the war agencies. The complete success of Jacobs in removing his industry from economic control could wreck the long-delayed effort of the WPB and the OPA to restore production of low-priced and essential civilian apparel. Living costs in some fields, notably food and rents, have been held within bounds for 20 months now under the hold-the-line stabilization order, while prices of clothing have gone up 11 percent. Bowles and the WPB's Cap Krug, in a commendable and almost unique spirit of agency coöperation, are now undertaking, by a system of priorities and price-controls, to divert a large percentage of cotton and other fibers, from the limited civilian supply available, back into moderate-priced merchandise. This program is important to the economy, and it is also important to every diaper-conscious mother. But not to Jacobs and his clients.

Bowles prides himself upon getting along with the big "pressure groups" by marrying them into his big OPA family, through advisory committees, staff advisers and numerous consultations. He has more than 500 industry-advisory committees, nearly 100 labor-advisory committees, more than 50 agricultural committees, other groups from Negro and consumer organizations, and is setting up similar committees for veterans' problems. Yet in December Bowles took to the radio to castigate publicly a high-pressure anti-OPA campaign undertaken by a publicity firm on behalf of the stove-manufacturing industry. The campaign was designed to stimulate the demand of the public for stoves which couldn't be obtained under wartime conditions, and to get higher prices than the OPA now permits.

Without naming the particular institute of public [illegible]tions which organized the campaign, Bowles quoted [illegible]licity firm's confidential letters to the industry [illegible] been given him by some shocked members of the stove industry itself. The publicity firm proudly reported to its clients that it had prepared a statement to be made by certain economists, who were named, supporting the demand for higher prices for stoves. The statement later appeared in print. The institute also prepared a sample editorial which it said was being sent to small newspapers all over the country.

"Magazines and newspaper articles are planned which will play on your need for a new stove, and apparently will state that higher prices to the industry would somehow mysteriously produce them," Bowles reported, explaining that the shortage of stoves resulted from the diversion of materials ordinarily used, to the production of tanks, machine-guns and battleships. One of the publicity firm's letters to the stove industry promised: "I will give you the signal and furnish the working material when the time is indicated for you to go to work on your own congressman." It is perhaps a tribute to the honesty of business men that only 14 stove manufacturers out of hundreds in the industry did write their congressmen along the lines so glibly charted for them.

An OPA survey of the effects of the OPA's price controls—putative reason for the onslaught—brought out the curious information that stove manufacturers who have continued to make stoves in wartime, selling at OPA ceiling prices, made profits three times as high before taxes in the first six months of 1944 as they averaged in a similar prewar period. In a few cases where manufacturers had actually been squeezed by rising production costs, the OPA gave them special consideration and usually made price adjustments.

The possible serious consequences of such efforts are apparent, and one recent instance is documented. That was the Bankhead amendment, adopted a year ago to fix the price of textiles in line with cotton parity prices. The government proposed instead to fix the loan rate so that cotton would be purchased at the parity price. Department stores, informed by the lobbyists for the mills that it would get them more goods, flooded Congress with letters supporting the amendment, and it was adopted. The mills received a completely speculative windfall, since OPA prices, under the amendment, had to be based on the assumption that they made their goods from 22-cents-a-pound cotton. Actually, the mills had paid 8 to 12 cents a pound for much of their cotton prior to passage of the amendment. The OPA had to tell the department stores that the increased textile price couldn't be passed along to the consumer, and the stores were forced to absorb increased mill costs of about $75 million. This ironic justice probably means that the department stores won't fall for exactly the same stunt next time, but it does not spread confidence that similar tactics will not be tried again.

So it is all along the line. The increased demands of war, plus geographic dislocation of distribution, caused

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acute shortages in meats last winter, and forced the OPA to place price-ceilings on cattle. A lobby is now reported forming to break down this effort, even though it is apparent that meat supplies for civilian use will continue short for months.

The OPA's efforts to hold the economic line are in danger from other quarters, too, in this fourth year of war. Investigations show that many retailers continue to chisel by overcharging. In independent groceries, it is indicated that considerably more than 10 percent of items are sold at above-ceiling prices, and the record is only a little better in the chain stores. Perhaps the buying public could be stirred to policing its own purchases if it understood how these overcharges are contributing to a future of inflation and woe.

In rationing, the story is again of many thoughtless and careless citizens, plus a few counterfeiters and other crooks. OPA moved to defeat gasoline-coupon counterfeiters by an ingenious use of ultra-violet-ray detectors, only to find the crooks shifting over to robbing ration-board offices. Farmers, too, peddle their gas to city folk without coupons, it appears. Now coupons are being mailed out from centrally located, carefully guarded storehouses.

Despite such developments as these, there is no need for a spirit of defeatism. We still have a war—two wars—to fight and win. After the shooting, we have an even more difficult job, economically, to do: repair some of war's ravages at home and abroad, to enable the world to go back to making a decent living. In Europe and some other parts of the world, the postwar period seems to be shaping up as a race between food and revolution, with our supplies and transport a decisive factor in determining the winner. Continued stabilization of prices and a distribution of available food and goods among those who need them most are imperative if we are to do this job.

Irksome rationing in this country, in some cases, will be terminated quickly after hostilities cease. Some items can be freed soon after the German war is ended. But it is quite apparent that price control must be retained through the Japanese war, and during the early stages of the reconversion period. The return to a free price system can be accomplished successfully only when supply and demand of goods are in approximate balance. Otherwise, it is boom and bust.

The Price Stabilization Act, which expires in June, is coming before Congress this week for consideration. It will be under attack from nearly every special interest, every pressure group, in the country. They will display the bloody carcasses of their gored oxen before the Banking and Currency Committees, in the corridors of the Capitol and in the magazines and newspapers of the land. Hamstringing amendments will be urged from all sides. This is the fight to watch—the whole people, the public, all of us (and a lot of us asleep), against the special interests.

POTOMACUS

Negro Service Troops

When the fourteen-truck convoy reached its destination, the gasoline dump wasn't there. It had moved the previous day, trying to keep up with Patton's army. The Negro truck-drivers jumped out of their cabs to stretch their legs, then piled back into the trucks and drove all night and the following day, until they located the dump and unloaded their gas cans. During the night it rained, and the blackout blinded them. Two trucks skidded off the road and overturned. When dawn came, snipers fired at a truck from a haystack, and at high noon, passing through a little town, they were bombed by German planes. Casualties: two men, one truck. But they kept driving, and the gasoline reached the army. They had been on the go for 44 hours.

This incident epitomizes the story of Negro troops in the service forces of the United States Army. Criticism is sometimes heard that the bulk of Negro soldiers have been assigned to service rather than combat forces. This is true, but there is a tendency to underestimate the crucial contribution they have made as service troops. Negro soldiers came ashore with the Engineer Brigades on D-Day; Negro troops in the Transportation Corps, Engineers, Ordnance, Quartermaster played an outstanding role in winning the Normandy supply battle; Negro truck-drivers, in the crucial weeks after the St. Lo break-through, hauled the bulk of the supplies to the armies sweeping across France.

In the last war, supply and transportation were a relatively safe rear-echelon activity. In this continental campaign—a hazardous amphibious operation developing into an unprecedented war of movement—the men at the wheels of the amphibious ducks, the stevedores unloading cargo on the beaches, the truck-drivers straining to get the last mile out of their 2½-ton GMC's, have frequently found themselves in the front line, trading blows with the enemy.

Many of the Negro truck-drivers, who were not combat-trained, came ashore on D-Day. Private Walter Pearson Jr., of the 3683 Quartermaster Truck Company, will brain you if you breathe the epithet "noncombat." His story is typical. "My truck drowned out," he reported, "and I had to swim ashore. I
in on the beach but had to be dug out when
roof caved in on me. A couple of grenades

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at the truck while I was hauling ammunition. On D+3 a bomb dropped in front of me and tore up the radiator and both front tires. The fragments killed several foot soldiers."

Another truck-driver spoke up. "I came in after the other fellows had landed," he said. "Guess it was around 21.30. I helped unload LCT's, then moved to an area about a mile from the beach when it started to get hot. On D+4, when the Jerries were strafing, one came over our area. I manned the .50-caliber machine gun on Pearson's truck. I saw the tracers from the gun go into his motor and he crashed almost immediately. Then I salvaged parts from two dead-lined trucks to keep the others rolling."

In running supplies from Normandy to the front lines, the first bottleneck was port and beach clearance —getting cargo ashore, reloaded and dispatched to forward dumps. Negro stevedores and duck-drivers had the biggest hand in breaking the bottleneck. Four out of every five port battalions were Negro. Intermittently bombed and strafed, the men worked the holds of the vessels, slung cargo onto ducks, barges, landing crafts, unloaded the stuff on the shore, then reloaded it onto trucks. A few days after D-Day, one outfit worked 52 hours, had a 5-hour break, then went back for another 34-hour shift. Stevedoring is tough, grueling, unglamorous—but it's one of the key transportation jobs, for the speed with which cargo can be unloaded, and ships turned around, is an essential determinant of the amount of tonnage a port can handle.

The amphibious ducks (so-called after the manufacturer's serial letters, DUKW) were of prime importance in moving cargo from ship to shore. The duck men are a new kind of truck-driver, equally at home on land and water. The ducks, small, easily navigable, highly maneuverable, are essentially 2½-ton trucks, fitted out with steel hulls and propellers so that they can take off in the surf as soon as the wheels leave the sands. Operating them is a hazardous job. If the craft is improperly loaded, or if the seas are rough, it is likely to tip over. At night, during the first few days after the invasion, the exact location of freighters was a little hazy. The duck-drivers were told to go out and unload any ship in sight. They found the ships all right, but sometimes the ducks were sunk by hitting mines and other submerged objects.

Negro soldiers share much of the credit for the success of the Red Ball Express—perhaps the most important transport operation in the Battle for France. The express runs from the Normandy peninsula to forward supply dumps—a thousand miles round trip, the biggest truck haul in military history, four times as long as the Burma Road. It is a startling innovation, created to meet a situation equally novel. Original plans called for the placing of supply dumps at different points across France, gradually moving them forward each time the army made a sufficiently large advance. But when Patton broke out of Normandy on July 25, all plans were abruptly swept aside. His armor rolled forward so rapidly that there was no chance for supply depots to follow. The dumps had to remain where they were, close to Cherbourg and the Normandy beaches, but meantime Patton desperately needed supplies in order to keep going. Three items were particularly vital—food, ammunition and POL (petrol, oil, lubricants)—particularly POL.

Trains are the best means of moving large quantities of supplies over a long distance, but in July and August our military railways were just getting into operation and couldn't carry the load. The burden was tossed to the tracks, and the Transportation Corps improvised a truckline that in effect became a railroad on rubber. That was the Red Ball Express. A two-road highway system spanning northeastern France was taken over. Traffic ran one way on each road—forward to the front on one road, return on the other. All trucks were dispatched in convoys, with road speed, rest periods, relief men for the drivers, road and vehicle repairs, all carefully coördinated and controlled. Shortly after the Red Ball started, tonnage lift to the front jumped 40 percent. Within a short time, 6,000 tons of cargo a day were being hauled (exclusive of the POL, on which the figures are secret), and that average has been maintained.

Sixty percent of the Red Ball drivers are Negro. Only a small percentage of them drove trucks in civilian life. But the army has trained them to drive steadily for 20 hours with no more rest than that provided by 10-minute "breaks" every 2 hours; they keep awake with doses of coffee and chocolate, navigate by a sixth sense in the blackout. They have forded streams when the bridges were bombed out, pushed through mud that came up to their hub wheels, they have been shelled, strafed and blown up by mines, but they brought the cargo through.

Other Negro troops fight the supply battle in the Quartermaster, Ordnance, Engineer Corps. In Ordnance, Negro ammunition companies distribute ammunition to front-line troops. One such outfit, the 57th Ordnance Ammunition Company, found a village full of SS troops blocking its path when it moved up to an advanced supply point near the Belgian border. Sixty-two volunteers, armed only with 1903 Springfield rifles and hand grenades, went into action against the Germans. Within an hour they had killed 35 SS men, wounded 3 and taken 11 prisoners. Then they set about unloading their 110-truck convoy.

In the Corps of Engineers, Negroes staff dozens of Aviation Engineer Battalions, which construct airfields, Fire-Fighting Platoons and General Service Regiments. These last build just about anything—roads, bridges, hospitals, air strips, railroads. The chronicle of one regiment since D-Day: it set a speed record in clearing a minefield near La Haye du Puits. In three weeks,

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the regiment built the first 1,000-bed hospital in France. The men had to demine the area first, then pour the concrete—all the time keeping patrols out against snipers.

Using captured German equipment, the regiment constructed the first refrigeration plant in France. Shortly afterwards it laid three pipelines—to carry gasoline, diesel and motor oil—from the Channel coast straight across France. And most recently, the men repaired a major railroad yard. This was an especially ticklish job. First they had to dispose of unexploded ammunition strewn about the tracks and buildings. Wielding acetylene torches, the men cut up steel cars which had been bent and twisted by bomb explosions. Dangerous work, for there was always the possibility that they would touch off live ammunition. The regiment completed the job in a week, with few casualties. It set the men up fine—they feel cocky and not a little proud. When it comes to speed, intrepidity or sheer results, Negro service troops doff their helmets to nobody.

Somewhere in France PRIVATE IRWIN ROSS

Bretton Woods or Economic Warfare

IN MY LAST ARTICLE I discussed the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. International lending both for the reconstruction of devastated countries and for the development of backward countries is necessary to reëstablish a large volume of trade on a multilateral basis. International currency arrangements are equally essential.[1]

The monetary difficulties into which the world was plunged following World War I were resolved in a brief interlude of illusory stability in the late twenties, which culminated in the monetary chaos of the Great Depression. That a serious impasse in international monetary arrangements had been reached is evident from the wave of competitive exchange depreciation of the thirties and from the spread of bilateralism, clearing agreements and foreign-exchange controls which held the stage when World War II burst upon us.

None will deny that just letting things drift will mean monetary chaos when this war is over. World development, expansion and trade cannot take place without orderly monetary arrangements.

The International Monetary Fund proposed at Bretton Woods is the result of many months of thorough study and discussion by leading monetary experts throughout the world. The proposal breaks new and difficult ground. The old international gold standard is gone. It cannot be reconstructed. It does not fit the modern world. The British Empire countries in particular (without whose coöperation no international currency could function) will have none of it. It is necessary, therefore, to build a new institution that fits the requirements of modern conditions. This was the task set before the delegates at Bretton Woods. Does the Fund there devised meet the test?

Modern countries rightly regard full employment and high living standards as primary aims of public policy. There are still monetary authorities in the United States (although it would be difficult to find such in England, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Scandinavian countries) who set forth as primary aims of public policy: (a) fixed exchange rates and (b) a balanced budget. Obviously *means* (ill suited to modern conditions) have here become *ends* in themselves. The real ends sought are *internal* and *international stability*. Under modern conditions, rigid exchange rates may produce violent international disequilibrium; and, under certain conditions, a balanced budget may produce serious deflation. Hence the revolution we have witnessed in monetary and fiscal thinking. Monetary and fiscal arrangements must promote, not destroy, international equilibrium, internal stability and full employment with rising living standards.

The fundamental defect with the old gold standard was the fact that it forced a country to adjust its internal level of income, wages and prices to the fixed exchange rate. As an illustration, Great Britain, in order to get into line with the outside world, was forced, following her return to the old gold parity in the 1920's to deflate prices and wages. The internal economy was compelled to revolve around the pivot of the foreign-exchange rate. The process creaked and groaned, and brought unemployment, deflation and stagnation to the British economy.

On the face of it, this was a preposterous arrangement. All sections of the British public which underwent this terrific experience are done with the gold standard and its rigidity. Instead of adjusting the whole vast internal structure of income, wages and prices to the foreign-exchange rate, they are determined to do precisely the opposite, namely, to adjust the exchange rate when necessary so as to promote a balanced relation with the outside world, and at the same time permit a high level of income and employment at home.

Now to achieve at once reasonable stability of exchange rates, while at the same time promoting in all countries high levels of income and employment combined with internal stability is the problem. Th[illegible] International Monetary Fund seeks to ac[illegible]

[1] For a fuller development of postwar international monetary policies, see my forthcoming book, *America's Role in the World Economy*, soon to be published by W. W. Norton and Company (New York).

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critic has said that the scheme should be labeled: "How to go swimming without getting wet." In truth, however, an appropriate label would be: "How to go swimming without drowning." Under the gold standard, the swimming party periodically got a dangerous ducking and some barely escaped going under.

The International Monetary Fund is designed to achieve orderly flexibility combined with optimum stability. It is devised to meet the needs of the postwar world. Specifically it is intended to perform the following functions:

1. To provide machinery to establish by international consultation (and not by destructive unilateral action) the appropriate exchange rate for each member country. Following the war upheaval, this will be no easy task. The Fund, through study and joint agreement with each member country, will determine an initial exchange rate, and by orderly adjustment as experience warrants, reach gradually a reasonable structure of exchange rate for the postwar world. Without any international agency, each country would tend to establish a rate that would give it an unfair competitive advantage.

2. To provide international machinery on a long-term basis for orderly changes in exchange rates, when such changes are necessary to promote international equilibrium. Technological, transportation and market changes may place the cost situation of one country out of line with others. Accordingly, such a country may be compelled either to seek an adjustment of its exchange rate or else to resort to internal deflation. Thus an orderly adjustment of exchange rates, we can be sure, will from time to time become necessary if we are to prevent unilateral action by individual countries which is destructive of world prosperity and world trade. An orderly adjustment of exchange rates, when countries get out of line with one another, is necessary to promote internal and international stability, full employment and a high level of world trade.

3. To provide a system of international short-term credit designed to help countries over short-term balance-of-payment difficulties and to provide a breathing period within which to make the fundamental adjustments required to bring imports and exports into balance. Such long-run adjustments may involve international lending through the Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The projects thus financed may change the country's structure of imports and exports and bring its international accounts into balance.

4. To provide machinery for continuous international consultation, for engaging in research on international monetary problems and for making reports and surveys designed to promote a balanced development of world trade.

These are the essential purposes of the International Monetary Fund. Without machinery for international operation we shall have monetary chaos. The Fund should be set up at once; the problems are upon us.

The credit resources of the Fund (point 3 above) have perhaps received too much attention. They are indeed important, but the Fund is much more than a short-term credit agency. It is an instrument to establish an orderly and rational system of foreign-exchange rates. It is a mechanism to obtain orderly adjustment of exchange rates without competitive exchange depreciation. It is a mechanism for consultation, research and information on international monetary developments and ways and means to meet ever changing problems through international collaboration.

The Fund is not a substitute for ordinary private exchange operations. The credit facilities of the Fund do not supplant private dealings in foreign exchange. Many countries will have large reserves of gold and dollar balances and will not need to resort to the Fund. Some countries, however, have limited gold and other international reserves and will need to use their line of credit with the Fund. But every country, whether immediately in need of international reserves or not, will be able to go forward with greater confidence, since it will have the assurance of support from the Fund when necessary.

The credit facilities of the Fund can be briefly stated. Every member country is required to make a subscription to the Fund equal to its assigned quota. This subscription is payable partly in gold and partly by crediting to the Fund a deposit balance at its Central Bank or by depositing interest-free government obligations. The gold contribution is 25 percent of the assigned quota, or 10 percent of its gold holdings, whichever is smaller. These contributions place at the disposal of the Fund a pool of foreign exchange, consisting of so many dollars, so many pounds sterling, so many francs, pesos, etc. When members need dollars, or francs, or what not, to meet foreign payments they may now borrow the currency needed from the Fund. But in doing so they must deposit further collateral with the Fund equal in value to the foreign exchange borrowed. Interest must be paid on the sums borrowed. Each member may borrow roughly up to 100 percent of its subscribed quota, but not to exceed 25 percent in any 12-month period.

The net effect of these provisions is to add some $6 billion to the international monetary reserves of foreign countries. Presumably the United States, with its vast gold resources, will not need to draw upon its quota with the Fund. Foreign countries hold currently some $14 billion of gold (the United States holds $21 billion). The Fund will add another $6 billion to this international reserve. If the current gold holdings were well distributed among the different countries, there would be less need for the short-term credit facilities made available by the Fund. Gold is, however, not well distributed. Moreover, the experiences between the two wars indicate that we must be pre-

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pared for large fluctuations in the balance of payments of different countries. Far larger monetary reserves are required than we were accustomed to prior to World War I. The additional resources which the Fund provides to help countries through difficult balance-of-payment positions will go far to ensure reasonable stability of exchange rates despite large temporary fluctuations in international accounts. Moreover, an assured line of credit will give countries time to tackle structural maladjustments in their international positions with the confidence they can "pull through" without having to resort to arbitrary restrictions on imports and to deflationary measures so destructive of world trade and world prosperity.

The critics of the Fund are for the most part the same people who are opposed to expansionist measures at home. They are so afraid of inflation, whether through domestic or international policies, that they are quite willing to risk (and indeed appear to accept willingly) deflation. There is a kernel of truth in what the critics are saying, which we should not overlook. Internal monetary and fiscal policy, together with international monetary management, will not reach the high goals we seek unless expansionist measures stop short of inflation. In fighting deflation we must not lose sight of the dangers of inflation. The ends we seek are stability in the value of the consumer's dollar (a stable cost-of-living index), with wages and incomes rising as rapidly as productivity permits; full employment and improving techniques in all countries; rapid development in the backward countries; and orderly adjustment to changes that may occur in the international position of any country so as to prevent such general breakdowns as we have experienced under a rigid international gold standard. ALVIN H. HANSEN

This is the fifth of a series of articles by Dr. Alvin H. Hansen and Dr. Seymour E. Harris under the general title, "The Price of Prosperity." The next and concluding article will be by Dr. Harris. – THE EDITORS

Religion in the USSR

THE CHURCHES OF RUSSIA and the Soviet government today are working in friendly cooperation. This has resulted not so much because the government has rescinded its program as because the Church has changed its attitude.

During the Tsar's regime the Church was the handmaiden of autocracy. Its financial support came from that regime. In January, 1918, the Soviet government completely separated the church from both school and state. Freedom of conscience was permitted, but every religious community had to obtain its revenue from collections, sale of candles and fees for prayers. At the same time the Communists publicly endorsed the view that religion was the opiate of the people and they encouraged propaganda which substituted science for religion. An atheist society was organized, employing paid propagandists and publishing a weekly journal satirizing religion.

Prominent religious leaders opposed communism. White Guard elements flocked to the Church, using the banner of religion to mask their efforts to overthrow the Soviet regime.

Patriarch Tikhon finally took the position that it was by the will of God that the Soviet government had come to power, and that it was supported by the people. He declared that all propaganda against the Soviet system by religious people must cease.

Today Church and State are again working harmoniously together. Nineteen prominent religious leaders headed by Patriarch Sergei acknowledged their debt to the Soviet government in these words: "We deeply value the sympathetic coöperation of our leader and the leader of all the people, Stalin, in meeting the needs of the Russian Orthodox Church." A short time ago, Metropolitan Nikolai sent greetings "to our beloved leader Joseph Stalin."

The war helped the process of bringing Church and State to friendly reciprocity. Fighting in the common struggle with democratic nations who believe in religious freedom has played its part. The loyalty of the Russian clergy in the war effort has been even more important. The Patriarch called this a holy war and urged all to join the ranks. Millions of rubles were raised by the churches for tanks for the front. Additional millions were contributed by the faithful for aid to the wounded, and to orphans and families of fighters. For instance, from the start of the war until July of last year, the churches of Leningrad alone raised more than 9.5 million rubles for tanks, airplanes and military defense. In addition to this, they collected approximately 2.4 million rubles to help the wounded.

The Church is loyally supporting Russia in this great war. Of course, in the occupied regions there have been traitors who supported the Germans, such as Policarp Sikorski, Bishop of the Vladimir Ukraine, and certain prelates of the Baltic provinces, but they were immediately excommunicated in scathing language by the Patriarch. Metropolitan Nikolai told me that at least 97 percent of the Orthodox priests in occupied regions have remained loyal, even though in some cases it meant death at the hands of the Nazis.

American reports that Russia now permits group religious instruction of children are mistaken. Communist leaders still firmly believe that science

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displace religion. A recent leading article on education in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* is revealing:

> There is no use concealing the fact that among teachers there are people—a small number, it is true—who have begun to show great tolerance toward religion.
>
> Cases of observance of religious ceremonies by teachers have even increased somewhat. Our party's attitude toward religion is well known and has not changed. Our party fights against religious prejudices because it stands for science, while religious prejudices go against science, since all religion is contrary to science.
>
> By what means does our party fight religion? Kalinin gave a good answer in his talk to front-line agitators in 1943: "We don't persecute anyone for religion. We regard it as an error and fight it with enlightenment." In conformity with the requirements of our party, care must be taken to avoid any offense to the feelings of believers, which can lead only to the strengthening of religious fanaticism. It is regrettable that some of our educators have shown themselves to be prisoners to religious errors. This is naturally due to slack work in political education by the teachers.

In spite of this attitude, the government is doing a great deal to help religion. First, the Church has been permitted to open a theological seminary for the training of candidates for the clergy. There will be two-year courses for pastors of each diocese, and a three-year course for advanced training in Moscow. All courses are free, and scholarships are provided for those who need them. The Moscow institution is now open. Metropolitan Nikolai tells me the quality of students is as high as it has ever been.

Second, the government has established a council for religion under the Council of People's Commissars. It is coöperating with the religious bodies of all faiths. The top Orthodox leaders have been provided with automobiles and supplies needed for religious work. Metropolitan Nikolai and other bishops have been placed on important government commissions and tour the country. The Church has its own printing plant, which publishes a monthly journal, the *Moscow Patriarchate*, and prints quantities of religious books.

Third, the government has been awarding the clergy military medals. The acting Patriarch was given one long ago for patriotic work in defending Leningrad. Religious leaders of Moscow and Tula were recently awarded medals for the defense of Moscow.

Fourth, the atheistic society has disbanded.

Fifth, one now sees officers attending religious services, as well as students from technical institutes.

Sixth, new churches are being opened. There are now 50 in Moscow.

Apparently the period of hostility between Church and State is over. Possible frictions may occur, but after the war friendly coöperation will continue. While I do not expect a major religious revival in Russia, interest in religion is increasing. This is not surprising [illegible]d of bloodshed and suffering.

According to a 1941 report, Russia now has 30,000 religious societies and 58,000 priests and ministers. Besides the Orthodox, there are Catholics, Jews, Protestants and others. The Orthodox Church still holds the commanding position, having more than 100 bishoprics with 300 to 600 parishes each. Metropolitan Nikolai maintains that the Russian Revolution has been a great boon to the Church: "It is no longer a tool in the hands of an autocratic state. Under the Tsar the clerical profession tended to become a mere means of obtaining a livelihood. Under the Revolution the clergy returned to the true path which Christ has called upon them to follow—the path of serving the cause of the salvation of mankind."

Russia is not abandoning religion. All who wish to worship God are free to express their faith as their conscience dictates. This right is being exercised today and will be in the future.

JEROME DAVIS

Hope for the Joads

"IF YOU don't want to get hurt, get back to your bossmen right away," shouted a Southern federal official last July as he accosted 70 unemployed sharecroppers en route to seasonal jobs at Jersey canneries. Egged on by the plantation bosses, this official was trying to block the underground railroad which the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and the Meat and Cannery Workers' Union (AFL) had built to free workers from Southern bondage.

This is a typical example of the age-old effort of planters to freeze cheap and docile labor in the South and prevent workers from taking well paid jobs in the North or West. In the war emergency, Southern legislatures have jammed the statute books with innumerable "emigrant agency" laws requiring exorbitant fees of would-be recruiters. Southern pressure forced Congress into passing the Pace amendment to Public Law 208, by which government agencies were prohibited from transporting farm workers to labor-shortage areas unless each worker was first released by his local county agent. These officials, being only the lackey-boys of the big planters, issued few releases. Insult was added to injury, moreover, when the plantation bosses began to hire German war prisoners at the "prevailing wage" set by the planter-dominated County Agriculture Boards. And thus, through such acts and legislation, through persuasion, threats, guns, control of draft and ration boards, thousands of Southern laborers are today not only frozen at low wages but, because of the seasonal nature of the crops, are virtually unemployed for half the current year.

While unemployment and wage cutting exist in the South, serious labor shortages have threatened the canneries and farms in other areas. For instance, in south Jersey last fall a large cannery working under a

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THE ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS

America led the world in establishing political democracy. It must lead the world once more in strengthening and extending political democracy by firmly establishing economic democracy. Let us not forget the painful lessons of the rise of fascism. Let us remember that political democracy is at best insecure and unstable without economic democracy. Fascism thrives on domestic economic insecurity, as well as on lack of, or divided, resistance to external aggression. Fascism is not only an enemy from without, it is also potentially an enemy from within.

We must now establish an Economic Bill of Rights not only out of common decency, but also to ensure the preservation of our political freedoms. We must accord to this Economic Bill of Rights the same dignity—the same stature—in our American tradition as that we have accorded to the original Bill of Rights.

Let us therefore affirm this Economic Bill of Rights—and keep affirming it—until it is as familiar and real to us as our political Bill of Rights.—*Henry A. Wallace, testifying before the Senate Commerce Committee.*

union-shop contract with the Meat and Cannery Workers' Union (AFL) threatened to shut down for lack of help. The company officials pleaded with the union for aid. Action began. President Leon Schachter, head of the union, and President H. L. Mitchell of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union signed an agreement by which STFU members were transferred to the Cannery Union without payment of an initiation fee, as seasonal workers paying lower dues than the year-round cannery employees. Both parties benefited. The STFU members, though without seniority rights and paid a slightly lower wage than the regular workers, had the protection of a union-shop contract, preference over other migratory workers recruited by the employer, and the help of stewards and a grievance committee—their first experience of industrial collective bargaining. The jobs of the regular Cannery Union members were no longer threatened by the Southern laborers whom the employer formerly hired at a pittance and often used for scabs. The employer benefited also, for he was dealing with a well organized and responsible migratory group.

Later approved by the War Manpower Commission, this joint-union plan by which both unions became hiring halls for migratory labor went into operation in 1943. By June, 1944, 6,600 workers had been transported to Jersey. During the summer an equal number of regular STFU members arrived to work six or eight weeks in the canneries before returning home for cotton picking.

Though skeptics may attribute the plan's success solely to the war labor shortage, it should be noted that the method by which these workers have been transported and protected is creating a revolutionary and beneficial pattern for postwar migration. First, the immediate effect upon the Southern farm-labor surplus is encouraging. A plantation worker in Arkansas or Mississippi, who has been paid a dollar a day for years, now knows that the STFU has made it possible for his "kinfolk" to travel to well paid jobs under union guidance. His bossman, fearful lest he escape, treats him better. The worker's son, just back from New Jersey, won't forget collective bargaining—even on the farm.

Far more important, however, is the fact that for the first time the migrant has been recruited and protected by labor unions concerned with his welfare. The STFU hiring hall, like those used by the old IWW and the National Maritime Union, is now at the service of thousands of Southern workers. At the places of employment in Jersey and other states, moreover, the Cannery Union has done more than just protect the STFU migrant on the seasonal job. Seeing that the large canneries were buying farm lands and hiring thousands of field hands, it has organized the year-round and seasonal farm workers and brought them into the union. In the coming era of increasing migration, displacement of tenants and sharecroppers by machinery and concentration of land in the hands of large corporations, such a plan will not only give the agricultural migrant a firm industrial base for organization but will benefit the more stationary cannery and industrial workers.

Critics of this STFU-Cannery Union joint plan assert that a government agency, such as the United States Employment Service or the Extension Service, should transport and place such labor. The trouble with this suggestion is that most local officials of such agencies are chosen by the employers and are therefore subservient to their interests. Furthermore, reliance upon government bureaus—irrespective of the politics of the personnel—has proved far less beneficial to the average ignorant, disfranchised and poverty-stricken migrant than the union's bargaining power.

Other critics fear that the joint-union plan will enable union officials in charge of hiring halls to abuse their power over the ignorant migrant by charging him excessive initiation fees. They further warn that these officials can easily become glorified recruiting agents under the employers' domination. Such abuse is possible. But these critics, repeating perennial charges hurled at all union leadership, forget that the growing industrialization of agriculture in America necessitates the creation of a labor bargaining power equal to that of the employer. An important step in this direction has been taken by the STFU and the AFL Cannery Union. Through hiring halls, organized migration, union protection and inter-union coöperation, the benefits of collective bargaining are now realities to a few of America's wandering Joads. DAVID

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Washington Notes

Varied Matters

MY INFORMATION is that the Big Three regard the San Francisco conference somewhat as follows: All the biggest problems have now been ironed out. The next step is perfunctory, in the sense that the three nations which at first must preserve the peace have reached full preliminary major decisions. Stalin, in particular, sets almost exclusive importance on direct Churchill-Roosevelt contact, but is willing to add to the "window-dressing" of San Francisco by sending an important delegation. It is America, and to a less extent Britain, which are pressing for what cynical French sometimes call Anglo-Saxon "universalism"—the American idealists' never ending search for a world basis.

Unlike Dumbarton Oaks, the San Francisco conference, if run smoothy, might be over in a matter of weeks; optimistic officials hint at a fortnight (seemingly an impossibility, with envoys present from 40 nations all requiring to go on record). Speed will be contingent on ability to convince intermediate and small nations that their rights are being protected. Americans find this easier to understand from their experience in combining 48 large and small states. France is expected to come along, after supersensitive de Gaulle demonstrates his independence. There is no hiding the distaste with which not only Roosevelt, but Churchill and Stalin as well, seem to regard de Gaulle. Rightly or wrongly, the world's new military masters consider him difficult and unreasonable.

One of the decisive factors in postwar relationships between Russia on one hand, and the United States and Britain on the other, will be forced labor. The issue was not raised directly with Stalin at Yalta, I understand, but there is a sharp cleavage involving, from either direction, a moral issue of deep importance. On good information, I mentioned some weeks back that between 150,000 and 200,000 Germans found by the Russians in Rumania had already been put into Soviet labor battalions. To do this in war is one thing, in peace another. Mr. Roosevelt attacked "slave" labor in his election campaign. Churchill is represented as hating it perhaps even more. The profound hope of both men is that the Russian plan to import large numbers of enemy workers after the war, and under onerous Soviet conditions, to help rebuild devastated parts of Russia, will be turned aside, or put under international authority.

Harold E. Stassen is probably today's leading GOP 1948 presidential candidate, but he has two handicaps: he is far enough ahead to cause other hopefuls to gang up on him; and the GOP may be so certain of victory in 1948 they will pick a Taft reactionary. It isn't generally known that Stassen quietly saw GOP-bolter Ball here, and that relations are now friendly, though Stassen deplores the ...ng Senator's desertion of Dewey and thinks his irregu... ...ed his Senate influence. Stassen didn't know of Ball's intention; thinks Minnesota may reëlect him regardless as a courageous independent.

Stassen heard of his own appointment by Roosevelt while en route by air to Pearl Harbor. He will make a speech in the next couple of weeks outlining his views on San Francisco. Incidentally, he may run for the Senate in 1946, seeking to knock off isolationist Shipstead, and to gain, perhaps, a national forum.

The American government is the largest owner of light-metal plants in the world: 50 percent of all United States aluminum plants, 90 percent of all magnesium plants, with a total investment of more than $1 billion. What are we going to do with them when peace comes? To answer that question, begin the first, full-scale, postwar surplus-disposal hearings in Washington, under the Murray Committee. Many think the world is now entering a light-metal era, including everything from freight cars to wheelbarrows. The way these plants are disposed of will decide whether there will be competition or monopoly, whether big geographical regions will remain industrialized or go back to farming, what part government will play. I understand some of Jesse Jones's precious loans to Alcoa, in the United States and Canada, will now be reëxamined. Just one statistic: In World War I, when Alcoa had complete monopoly, the price of aluminum jumped from 18 cents a pound in 1914, to 57 cents in 1916. In World War II, when firms like Reynolds Metals and Kaiser entered the picture, Alcoa dropped the ingot price from 19 cents to an ultimate 14 cents a pound. The real question now is: Is Alcoa's monopoly going to be restored?

Incidental Notes. – Aubrey Williams never looked finer to friends than when he quietly rejected the opportunity to pick up two Southern votes for confirmation in the Senate committee, and in testimony refused to weasel-word his support of the FEPC and racial equality. . . . Military leaders agree that the present drive will determine the war's length: if things move well, Eisenhower should be on the Rhine by the time the Russians reach their north-south line, Carpathians to Baltic, Neisse-Oder; the Allies at long last are moving in one coördinated plan. . . . Bankers oppose change; it is recalled here that New York banking interests which now fight the Bretton Woods monetary fund originally fought establishment of the Federal Reserve System, the Security Exchange Commission, the Deposit Insurance Corporation. . . . President Roosevelt puts visitors on his right, his left ear, though not what it used to be, is still sometimes useful, like Nelson's bad eye, for *not* hearing things. . . . Walter Lippmann's recent kid-glove sock at Senator Taft on the Wallace appointment was one of the most effective things a columnist ever did; even Republicans are getting worried over negative leadership. . . . Eastern friends of Governor M. C. Wallgren of Washington are much surprised at reports that he has said Washington doesn't want the Japanese Americans ever to return. They are at a loss to reconcile this with his previous record of liberalism. . . . The Great Smokies' witch-play, "Dark of the Moon," is going to cause excitement in New York; Washington newspaper critics were afraid of it.

Washington T. R. B.

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International Notes

Postscript on Yalta

PRIOR to the Yalta conference, I am reliably told, Stalin was as unhappy about the doubtful political composition of the Soviet-sponsored Lublin government as were Churchill and Roosevelt. He was therefore only too glad to subscribe to the decision of the conference that the Provisional Polish Government should be broadened by the inclusion of democratic leaders both within Poland and abroad. Now that the Polish emigration is split, with men like ex-Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk and Socialist Jan Stanczyk ready to accept the Curzon Line as Poland's eastern frontier, their entry into the Lublin government can only be to Russia's advantage.

I have good reason to believe that the future of the city of Lwow, predominantly Polish in culture and nationality, is not a closed chapter. After some of the exiled Polish leaders have shown their good will toward Russia by joining the Provisional Government, Stalin may return Lwow to Poland as a magnanimous gesture, thus shrewdly minimizing much of the Polish bitterness that might otherwise have existed.

It seems that anybody is permitted to be in favor of the Crimean declaration on Germany except Germans themselves. I was struck by the silence in our dailies which greeted a momentous statement of the Council for a Democratic Germany, sole independent committee of German anti-Nazis in America, that the decisions of the Crimean Conference are "a confirmation of the basic lines of policy the Council has followed in all its activities."

This is not an anti-Soviet column, but I want to take exception to the savage attack by the magazine *War and the Working Class* on a number of American journalists, including Dorothy Thompson, Constantine Brown, Paul Ward of the Baltimore *Sun*, and New York *Times* correspondents Axelsson, Callender and Daniell, who at one time or another have suggested that Moscow planned to use captured German generals as the nucleus of an anti-Nazi German government. Before it was decided at Yalta to "remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office," there was a possibility that Russia might use the Free Germany Committee, with its generals and colonels, for administrative purposes in occupied Germany. But those who sang the swan song of the committee may have been a little previous. While the generals will ostensibly be dropped, it would be short-sighted of Russia not to let Wilhelm Pieck and other trusted German Communists follow the example of Maurice Thorez and Palmiro Togliatti. Moscow knows its friends and supports them. London and Washington apparently either do not know or do not want them.

Aneurin Bevan was the only MP to suggest that the British government itself might have been responsible for the leakage of Churchill's "thumbs-down-on-Franco" letter. This makes sense. The leakage did not come, as charged in Parliament, from United States sources, but was cabled from London by *PM's* Frederick Kuh. It may have been intended to offset the "kindly words" Churchill found for Franco not so long ago.

The details of the British intervention in Greece are evidently even more damaging than anyone suspected. It was planned many months in advance. As long ago as last spring, at the time of the mutiny in Greek army and navy units stationed in Egypt, the Greek Mountain Brigade was formed under British supervision. Only officers and soldiers with strong royalist or reactionary convictions were admitted. Greek politics has reached the hangover stage. The British-installed Plastiras government already seems to be tottering. Three ministers, Pericles Rhallis (Interior), John Makropoulos (Agriculture) and Nicholas Kolyvas (Justice), are reported to be leading a cabinet revolt against Premier Plastiras. Rhallis has already resigned.

The conflict between René Pleven, Minister of Finance, and Pierre Mendès-France, Minister of National Economy, over the basic orientation of France's future economy continues. But on February 10, René Lacoste, Socialist Minister of Industrial Production, in a statement which has not been officially repudiated, came to the aid of Mendès-France. He declared that it would be futile "to count on private enterprise for the resumption of industrial activity, and that state control of industry will follow the Russian pattern." The French Communists had to change their line again when many of the rank and file, disgusted with the party's present conservative economic policy, began switching to the Socialists. The Communists modified their position sufficiently to agree with the Socialists on a program which, according to the Socialist leader André Philip, includes limited nationalization and economic reform even before the end of the war.

Notes.—If Japan loses the Netherlands Indies oil resources, she can produce a substitute aircraft fuel by extracting buthanol and alcohol from about 22⅓ billion pounds of potatoes scheduled to be raised this year. . . . Rumanian Jews who served in compulsory labor battalions during the fascist Antonescu regime will be credited with equivalent terms of military service. . . . Rumored United States purchases of Spanish products for UNRRA would give Franco badly needed credits for the import of hydroelectric and railway equipment. . . . Possible head of the new Poland is Wincenty Witos, twice Premier, 65 years old and a longtime adversary of Dictator Pilsudski. . . . Report of a French slave worker in Germany: "At work one more often heard the word *langsam* (slow) than *los* (come on). A German worker on whose foot I dropped a steel roller sent me a note of thanks from the infirmary." . . . General de Gaulle's snub to Roosevelt had the unanimous approval of the French cabinet. . . . The Big Four of international labor will be Sir Walter Citrine of the TUC, Sidney Hillman of the CIO, Louis Saillant of the CGT and Vasili Kuznetsov of the Russian unions. . . . Allied terms for Japan, the Chungking newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao*, reports, will parallel those outlined for Germany at the Crimea conference. . . . As of February 18, 7,053 cases of collaborators had been dealt with in France and 574 sentences passed.

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Close Shave in Burma

"OBJECTIVE BURMA" is a straight-faced account of a raid by American paratroopers on a Japanese radar station in Burma and of their attempt to walk through enemy-filled jungle after a plan to get them out by plane fails. It is as earnest as Hollywood has been in its attempt to show war and soldiers exactly as they are. The actors still look more like movie people than they should, but they look very soldierly when the camera isn't right on top of them, and when they aren't made to perform to it as though it were a theatre audience. They run and walk like soldiers and the actors who are seen loitering in the background make the backgrounds seem like those of newsreels. Killing the enemy is still given the significance of cutting down clay pigeons at a rifle gallery, and though half the Americans are killed, their deaths are made as little real in movie terms as possible. The acting by Henry Hull, Errol Flynn, George Tobias and others isn't wonderful, but it never tried harder to be naturalistic.

"Objective Burma" has been influenced a good deal by documentary ideas so that its record of the paratroopers' trip takes in more than its melodramatic moments, and it comes closer than usual to telling its story visually. It makes a constant attempt to keep the relationship between people and scene correct and to get as much drama and meaning from this relationship as possible. By the time it's over you have a fair feeling that the paratroopers did travel some hundreds of miles through the jungle, that it took as long as the people said and that (except for the Japs' skill at getting themselves killed) what happened probably would have happened on a real-life raid. The movie not only exhibits Hollywood's usual passion for verisimilitude, but shows some excitement for the look of what it reproduces. There are some wonderful moments, such as a cold, lonely dawn scene during and after the raiders' parachute jump, and an ornate Burmese village they bump into in mid-afternoon, that capture beautifully the mood of the time of day as well as the extraordinary look of an action, some architecture and the grouping of people who are permeated by the particular mood. The movie gets likably excited over the technique of paratrooping and makes its excitement felt. It is especially good at showing the animal-like ability of the raiders to move through a jungle or to work themselves inside enemy territory.

The director, Raoul Walsh, does very little that is original or of any great force, but he can mimic a number of styles with adequate carpentry. The photography is often emasculated D. W. Griffith; the final night battle owes a great deal to "Desert Victory" and also shows some of the admirable *naïveté about thrills that used to be in* Westerns. The camera is constantly on the move—to good purpose for long shots of the action, but it seems far too intimate and omnipotent, considering both the disconnected nature of war and its aim, which is to be just like war. Max Steiner's music for this film is in the traditional manner that reiterates every idea and act with literary noise poorly related to the scene's visual effect; there are some incredible passages, such as a battle sequence in which every appearance of the enemy is greeted by the drum music used for marching, and some head-on collisions between the realistic jungle sounds and the musical score doing its interpretation of the jungle. However, there are a few passages when the sound track is dispensed with entirely; at those times the screen seems twice as effective.

The film is admirably objective in its treatment of action and scene, but it is pretty general and soft about its people and has little success in showing the effect of the trip on them. The characters are all the same vague hero. Before a couple of crises somebody turns up with a case of over-emphatic jitters that doesn't develop into anything, and a rickety war correspondent, acted by Henry Hull with a good editorial manner, is sent along with the raiders but contributes too little to the movie to warrant the great trouble that was taken to put him in it. There isn't a sign of a relationship developing along the way between any of the men, and when a response to death, pain, impending attack or to a comrade's character is made, somebody usually explains the response with a big, obvious sentence. Since it gets hardly anywhere into the minds and feelings of its paratroopers, the movie tends to seem a little like a boy-scout hike. But it is an exciting one, and in many ways very genuine.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

In addition, the bankers held, the [Bretton Woods] proposals would commit $6 billion of United States funds to an international institution in which there will be "representatives of some countries which do not have the same understanding and appreciation of private enterprise as we do." – *From the Pasadena* Star-News.

These are not dull dress affairs. Several of the ladies present Wednesday night wore slacks. – *From the Fairmont* Times *(West Virginia).*

Why We Fight

Neither Beck nor, presumably, the pilots with him, even knew that Berchtesgaden was where Adolf Hitler had his principal home. . . . Neither at the University of Idaho nor at the aircraft factory where he worked before he entered the air forces nor in the army itself had it ever come to his attention that Hitler had built a fortress palace outside Berchtesgaden. – *Herbert L. Matthews in the New York* Times.

There'll Always Be an England

A suggestion that Germany's ocean-going racing yachts should be handed over to the Allies as reparations was made at the annual dinner of the Royal Ocean Racing Club at Grosvenor House on Wednesday night. – *From the London* Weekly Times.

The Inscrutable West

Secretary of State Stettinius, in Moscow for a "tourist visit," attended the Russian ballet last night and received an ovation. The Secretary bore a 3,000-ruble ($566 at the diplomatic exchange rate) bouquet for the prima ballerina, blond Marina Semenova, when he entered the Bolshoi Theatre for the performance of Tschaikovsky's "Swan Lake." – *AP dispatch from Moscow.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

The Bridges Case Again

SIR: Bad things, like good ones, must come to an end sometime. In this category is the Harry Bridges case, dragged out for almost a decade until it now stands as a strange contradiction of our entire war program. Much has been written about the pros and cons of the noted Bridges case. Too little has been said of the brilliant war role of Bridges and his union, the almost front-line longshoremen of the Pacific Coast who have played such a significant part in making possible our Pacific victories.

In recent weeks, statements have appeared in many sections of the country urging executive dismissal of the charges against Harry Bridges. From all walks of life—labor (both AFL and CIO), industry, government, the professions—have come insistent demands for dismissal of the case. The breadth of the campaign for such action is shown by the united position taken by such dissimilar papers as the New York *Post*, San Francisco *Chronicle* and the Honolulu *Advertiser*, the anything but pro-labor press friendly to the Hawaiian sugar interests.

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, recently called the case a "burden upon the conscience of the American people," and urged the President and Attorney General Biddle to lift that burden. A few days ago President Murray reiterated his stand, calling upon the President to act "in the interest of preserving the splendid national unity which we have achieved during this war."

Similar sentiments from such public leaders as California's Attorney-General Robert W. Kenny, Bartley Crum, California Willkie leader and head of the Independent Republicans for Roosevelt, Walter Wanger, president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, San Francisco District Attorney Edmund Brown, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, and hundreds more, all ask for immediate dismissal of the Bridges case.

The AFL Machinists' Union of Seattle calls it "passing strange" that Bridges is denied the chance to obtain citizenship. Never has this seemed more true than now, with the great United Nations conference scheduled to meet in San Francisco —the city which Harry Bridges more than any other one man has made an "advance base" in the Pacific war.

The way should be cleared for Harry Bridges to become an American citizen.

HONORÉ ARMSTRONG
New York City for the Harry Bridges Victory Committee

A School for Industrial Relations

SIR: "Labor school asks $200,000 state aid, trustees assert institution will improve relations between workers and employers," reported the New York *Times* of Monday, February 19, in calling its readers' attention to the School for Industrial Relations at Cornell. This is the most ambitious attempt yet, out of some 50 to 60 experiments, from the University of California in the West to Harvard in the East, to develop schools in industrial relationships as an educational counterpart to labor-management coöperation in industry.

Like labor-management coöperation itself, this trend is not without dangers. At the moment, while the war lasts, the number of students available will be small. Trade unions will not be able to release experienced officers to participate in much beyond weekend institutes. The New York State Federation of Labor, in its annual report, has already made suggestions on the necessity of active labor representation and controls going beyond the usual decorative advisory capacity to okay plans already made. Further, there should be an emphasis upon the extension activities, because it is extremely unlikely that a graduate without any industrial or union experience would be automatically made a staff member of a union or be looked upon as leadership material.

Another danger is the possibility that the brighter brains would be siphoned away from labor organizations into the more highly remunerated services of management, for which process the business schools of our universities already have provided adequate facilities. Sandpapering of potential critics is a process not unheard of in history.

It is regrettable that the AFL, the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhood unions have not been more articulate about their needs both for training administrative skills and for more knowledge of the history and philosophy of the labor movement. It is not too late for the unions in New York State to play a more active part in influencing the selection of the faculty and the syllabus. The Ives School at first proposed that labor and management should study together, but it has now modified that position and recognized the importance of special training to meet specific needs. Assemblyman Irving M. Ives and President Day of Cornell would welcome a more active union participation; the institution now in its formative stage will undoubtedly be an example to other states entering this new field and creating a new pattern of coöperation between trade unions and the colleges.

MARK STARR, Educational Director,
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
New York City

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Eugene Rotwein, Department of Economics, Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Illinois, writes to comment on the article "A Diagnosis of Germany," by Heinz Eulau [the *New Republic*, December 25]. Mr. Rotwein thinks that all liberals take too narrow and simplified a view of what happened in Germany under fascism, and that Mr. Eulau is even narrower in his interpretation than the majority. Mr. Rotwein denies that German capitalism embarked on the production of armaments in order to solve the economic dilemma of capitalism and then was pushed toward war by the existence of the armament. He says that under fascism, Germany followed a fiscal policy of expansion and deficit spending which was the main cause of full employment, regardless of the end product of this policy, which was armament. He points out that Germany would have been much better off if her deficit economy had been directed toward the production of usable consumer goods—food, clothing and shelter. He thinks German belligerency came from some other cause than the economic policies pursued.

Support of Senate measure S.181, the Hill-Thomas bill for federal aid to education in the form of a $300-million grant to be administered by the states, is urged by Alfred Baker Lewis, of New York City. One of the reasons for backing the bill, Mr. Lewis says, is to ensure an adequate wage for teachers in relation to the increased cost of living.

Franklin Wallick of Dayton, Ohio, sees considerable hope for a strong third-party movement in this country on the lines of the CCF in Canada. He points out that the labor movement is better organized and more articulate than it was in 1912 or in 1924, and that "with the disappearance of Mr. Roosevelt from the national ticket, the whole political picture will be pregnant with possibilities."

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Books in Review

D. F. Tovey: In Memoriam

THAT THE PLACE of Donald Tovey in musical criticism was, in our time, unique was due to his possession of a most extraordinary constellation of qualities, each one of which appeared to balance some other without impairing its vigor. He had subtle sensibilities, yet his responsibilities never allowed him to develop "lifelong convictions on the spur of the moment." He had wit, but it never lessened his responsibility. And it never led him to posture for the sake of brilliance. He had a great inquisitiveness for musical history, but his delight in musical experience always prevented him from substituting discussion of the former for analysis of the latter. His interest in every technical division of thought, form, rhythm, harmony, melody, counterpoint, was enormous, yet again his musical appetite matched his knowledge. He was by instinctive capacity a great teacher but there was nothing of the musicologist about him.

All his life he hoped to produce a great four-volume work of musical education. It was his method, the very merit of it, which prevented his doing this. In all his writings, with the possible exception of the first named of these two volumes and the essays, "Musical Textures" and "The Integrity of Music," there are almost no general writings on theory. His theorizing, his astonishing powers of judgment and his abundance of knowledge were poured into his analysis of individual works. It is fortunate that it was so, for if we take these superb *Musical Articles*[1] for the sufficient preface that they are, then the six previous volumes of *Essays in Musical Analysis* and the present one[2] (which does not deal with the String Quartet, already treated), constitute an entire library of critical introduction to far more music than even the most eager listener will have any chance to appropriate.

Sir Donald wrote other fine things. One remembers particularly the marvelous essay on Schubert's use of tonality in *The Heritage of Music,* also edited by Mr. Foss. That essay, which is the fundamental work in Schubertian criticism, will probably do more to open perspectives for one who has not yet read it than any other single piece of writing of this age. It discloses in its mountainous dimension what almost all of the essays here published do in their smaller way. It was the emotional and artistic meaning of techniques which Tovey understood, together with the intellectual and spiritual significance of forms. His study of the relation of tonalities in the scherzo of Schubert's C Major Symphony not merely serves as a brilliant exposition of a fundamental factor in harmony, but also constitutes a wonderful exploration of the sense of musical Time and Space. The analysis of that one movement, or rather part of a movement, illuminates one's entire conception of symphonic music.

Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert. It was in their music and in the music of one other whom I shall not now name, that the author of these books excelled. In the *Chamber Music* is contained his superb analysis of the Goldberg Variations, as well as that on the Art of Fugue. These, with the essay on the Diabelli Variations and his analysis of Mozart's Woodwind Quartet in E Flat (K 452), are the bolder landmarks. Yet, as always, the fine things are scattered over the entire contents. In an essay on a Haydn Pianoforte Sonata he says, "It is to the infinite variety *in matters that attract no attention* that we must look for such proof as can be given of an artist's vitality." And when he writes that "There is a dangerous common fallacy that what is technically conventional is always artistically lifeless," one hears sufficient answers to Wagner's nonsense concerning the ceremonial parts of Mozart's music.

Remarks such as the above are merely incidental, of course, to the main argument of the essays. But they are sometimes so just that of themselves they create a sound attitude toward the music under discussion. In the study of Bach's *Clavierübung* he writes, "One of the first things to be grasped about Bach's style, whether early or late, is that it is never more directly expressive than when it is most florid." That, I should say, more than any remark about texture or form, is the most important single thing to keep in mind about Bach. One thinks of certain of the Chorale Preludes. One hears those involved, protracted and profusely ornamented melodies. Every figure and motif of them is so full of grave, piercing or contemplative emotion that the line is constantly vital. The emotion flows along the entire length of the melody so that while there are high and low points of tension, there is never a purely connective passage and rarely a "peak" from which all else is descent. All is living music.

But there was something far rarer than these qualities in Tovey. The distinctive nobility of his writing depends to a great degree on the rich literacy of his understanding of what may be called the Major Attitudes. In one of the last essays in *Chamber Music* he considers the nature of Tragedy. "Except in times when the only criticism was popular and the only art classical . . . it may be doubted whether any really consistent tragedy ever met with ready contemporary approval, *or was even recognized as particularly emotional*" (my italics). He goes on to say that contemporary tastes demand that if the artist is to give us a tragic conclusion, it must leave our sympathies wholly with the victims of the catastrophe. "We have none to spare for the grandeur of the world. . . ." And he relates this to his immediate purpose, which is to elucidate the meaning of the "dramatic mask" of a particular work, thus, "Popular and hurried criticism is apt to resent the force of the design as savoring of cold academicism, preferring mere misery as something far more pathetic. . . ." The warning is less

[1] Musical Articles from the Encyclopedia Britannica, by Donald Francis Tovey. Edited by Hubert J. Foss. New York: The Oxford University Press. 251 pages. $4.

[2] Essays in Musical Analysis: Chamber Music, by Donald Francis Tovey. Edited by Hubert J. Foss. New York: The Oxford University Press. 217 pages. $4.

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necessary today than it was in 1901, when it was written, but it is still immensely suggestive. And there is a warning contained in the context of that last passage, for it appears in one of Tovey's penetrating and admiring essays on a work of Brahms. Of all composers Brahms is today the one least enjoyed by really intelligent listeners. That Tovey thought him one of the very great masters makes one decide to think again, and if possible to feel anew, about that unfashionable man of genius. RALPH BATES

Capitalism's Decline

The Future of Economic Society, by Roy Glenday. New York: The Macmillan Company. 320 pages. $4.

MR. GLENDAY is economic adviser to the British Federation of Industries, England's National Association of Manufacturers, but he is no advocate of a cartelized economy. On the contrary, cartels and monopolistic rigidities, he says, are positive indications of economic arteriosclerosis. His book is indeed a gloomy one; it sees no New Atlantis awaiting us at the end of the war, and new spurts in technology which may replace the lost frontier are most unlikely. An economic order, Mr. Glenday continues, suffers from "an alternation of periods of continuous growth and periods of instability and breakdown"; it grows like compound interest and the rate of progress has now begun to slacken.

Producers and consumers, however, are unwilling to surrender to these tendencies. There is persistent demand for more goods and wider markets; machines begin to displace hand labor. Yet this process must eventually depress purchasing power and limit the sale of commodities. The economic breakdown is reflected not so much in surplus goods as in idle plants and excess capacity. Monopoly consequently becomes the major item on the economic agenda.

But monopoly generates the kind of conflict that can be overcome only by a thoroughgoing rehabilitation of the social organization. Unless some new way of enlarging our economic capacity is discovered, "the increasing resistance to further growth which both the population and the economic exploitation have been meeting will lead to the whole arrangement disintegrating under the pressure of competing forces."

This is hardly a pleasant prospect, yet in these days of expansive postwar planning we frequently fail to recall historical lessons. Mr. Glenday does not forget so easily; his chapters on economic history are excellent summaries of the growth cycles of past civilizations. And the evidence seems to substantiate his distressing thesis.

The present war, moreover, has accelerated the process of decomposition. When the peace treaties will have been duly placed in the archives, Western capitalism's newly acquired excess equipment will make its contradictions quite noticeable. The economic structure is just too big, Mr. Glenday argues, and our only salvation lies in splitting mass society "into small groups within which there will nevertheless be scope for individuality and personal freedom." Smaller economic units, the author emphasizes, will be able to function with the coördination necessary for a true service economy. Neither the American attempt to restore free competition nor the Russian love of bigness can achieve this aim.

Mr. Glenday, unfortunately, is not too clear on how we may compress world economics into smaller patterns. And he implies that each new unit will be fully capable of sustaining the population assigned to it. But this ignores the obviously uneven distribution of world resources. Mr. Glenday's proposals, moreover, would inevitably culminate in a rebirth of the economic nationalism of the thirties. Surely that has cost us too much to be worth repeating now.

Mr. Glenday's thinking, though influenced by the writings of Marx, Toynbee and Schumpeter, is insufficiently global in scope. He has drawn his generalizations solely from the experience of the matured economies of Britain and the United States. Asia, Africa and Latin America will furnish ample room for new growth. Capitalism, we fear, still has a few years to go. BEN B. SELIGMAN

Southern Stereotype

John C. Calhoun, Nationalist: 1782-1828, by C. M. Wiltse. Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 477 pages. $3.75.
George Fitzhugh: Propagandist of the Old South, by Harvey Wish. Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press. 360 pages. $3.
Ranger Mosby, by V. C. Jones. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 347 pages. $3.50.
"First with the Most" Forrest, by R. S. Henry. Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 558 pages. $4.
Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian, by F. B. Simkins. Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press. 577 pages. $4.50.
The Wilson Era, Years of Peace: 1910-1917, by Josephus Daniels. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 615 pages. $4.

A FEW YEARS AGO, the late W. J. Cash, in his fine study of the Southern mind, argued convincingly that the virtues and vices of the Old and New South were basically the same. Mr. Cash acknowledged the pride, honesty, courage and boldness of his section, but he did not shrink from listing the South's traditional weaknesses:

> Violence, intolerance, aversion and suspicion toward new ideas, an incapacity for analysis, an inclination to act from feeling rather than from thought, an exaggerated individualism and a too narrow concept of social responsibility, attachment to fictions and false values, above all too great attachment to racial values and a tendency to justify cruelty and injustice in the name of those values, sentimentality and a lack of realism—these have been its characteristic vices in the past.

The six Southerners described in these volumes illustrate Mr. Cash's thesis concretely. Although not one of them could stand alone as the Southern stereotype, collectively they form a composite of all that has been both fine and deplorable in Southern life.

Few of the so-called Southern "vices" tainted John C. Calhoun. That austere and logical statesman possessed precisely those qualities which Mr. Cash too seldom discove-

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among his fellow citizens. Although popularly regarded now as the arch sectionalist, the adroit but misguided apologist for a dying way of life, Calhoun emerges from Mr. Wiltse's perceptive biography as a disinterested and high-minded patriot forced by the logic of economic pressures into what was for him an extremely uncongenial position. Mr. Wiltse's book is limited to the nationalist phase of Calhoun's career (his "nullification" period will, it is hoped, be treated in a subsequent volume), but the character of the great South Carolinian was already rounded out in 1828 when he reluctantly turned his energies to the defense of his section. By that time he had demonstrated his powerful talent for abstract thinking, later exhibited in his remarkable *Disquisition on Government*, and had already given evidence, too, of his inability to judge public opinion or to understand the common man.

More provincial than Calhoun, and far less disciplined intellectually, was George Fitzhugh, the subject of Mr. Wish's solidly written biography. Fitzhugh, an amiable Virginian, distinguished himself as perhaps the most widely known among the pro-slavery controversialists of his day. In a series of pseudo-sociological treatises and articles, he sought to glorify the "peculiar institution" instead of apologizing for it. He idealized the South—traditional, conservative and religious—as the rock of truth around which swirled the destructive eddies of industrial capitalism, socialism and all the other noxious "isms" to which he attributed the anarchy of Northern culture. Fitzhugh was not only a propagandist who suppressed inconvenient truths when he chose to; he was an irresponsible amateur playing with intellectual dynamite, and he was never realistic or honest enough to anticipate the tragic consequences of his theorizings. While his criticisms of Northern wage slavery were sometimes trenchant, his thinking for the most part was derivative and second-rate. We can discern, moreover, in Fitzhugh's ideas an unscientific sanction of racial inequality and a reactionary political philosophy which were to outlast the tragedy of the Civil War.

That war clearly demonstrated the South's gallantry and heroism, the military virtues that are as much in evidence today as they were then. But the courageous exploits of Mosby's Rangers and Forrest's cavalry (painstakingly and creditably recounted by Mr. Jones and Mr. Henry), while they provided the defeated South with romantic symbols of the "lost cause," could not mitigate the harshness of Reconstruction. A new type of Southern leader emerged in the postwar period who would continue to exploit sectional animosities and the prevailing Negrophobia and at the same time articulate the grievances of the hitherto unrepresented and long-suffering white masses.

Such a leader was Benjamin Ryan Tillman, better known as "Pitchfork Ben." First in the line of Southern "demagogues," Tillman was a transitional figure who embodied the tendencies of both the Old and the New South. He had been reared in an atmosphere of theatrical violence which resembles, even in Mr. Simkins' temperate and critical account, the lurid world of a Faulkner novel. Too young to fight for the Confederacy, he nevertheless managed to wrest political leadership from the aristocratic "Brigadiers" who had retained power after the war by virtue of their military records and by the threat of Negro and Carpetbag domination. The "wool-hat boys" found in Tillman an invincible champion. Although in no sense a disinterested statesman, his courage, shrewdness and iron will won him a following that twice made him Governor and then sent him to the United States Senate for the rest of his life. According to his biographer, Tillman's gubernatorial record was essentially a progressive one, and his activities in the Senate were in many instances well intentioned if not always effective. But Mr. Simkins is not blind to Tillman's deficiencies. He shows us the fanatical Negro-baiter concealing his natural conservatism behind a cloud of radical bluster; he shows us a man growing fat and complacent in office, maintaining his popularity by dispensing large quantities of pork to his hungry state and cockering the prejudices of his constituents.

Calhoun, Fitzhugh and, finally, Tillman had each in turn repudiated Jeffersonian liberalism, but Jefferson's principles were never without defenders in the South. Josephus Daniels, in the third volume of his chatty and anecdotal autobiography, suggests the simple and friendly democracy which has always been typical of certain segments of Southern life. In his eventful career as editor and office-holder, Daniels was usually on the right side; he took his public responsibilities, like Calhoun, with the utmost seriousness. As Secretary of the Navy in Wilson's cabinet, a period in his honorable career which provides the basis for this instalment, he eliminated worn-out traditions, tried to democratize the navy personnel and was instrumental in breaking the armor-plate monopoly. His achievements, though not brilliant, compare more than favorably with those of the majority of Southern politicians today.

The conditions which produced the Calhouns, Fitz-

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hughs, Mosbys and Tillmans have changed to a large extent, but the pattern of the Old South is still visible in their living counterparts. There are Southerners who still carry state pride to fanatical extremes and are overly sensitive to outside criticism. The kind of mentality and temperament which distinguished Fitzhugh is not unknown even now in Southern intellectual circles; and the modern versions of Tillman, sharing all of his worst qualities and none of his best, are still more common. Southern politics has remained, in the words of Virginius Dabney, "provincial and reactionary," and the recent events at the University of Texas would even suggest that the illiberality which marked the intellectual environment of the anti-bellum South has not entirely disappeared.

It would be unrealistic, however, to over-emphasize the uglier aspects of the Southern heritage and to ignore its more attractive features. The South has always had her portion of liberals whose positive contributions to Southern civilization are unfortunately less well known than the activities of their Northern contemporaries. A greater familiarity with their careers would do much to correct traditional misconceptions and to clarify the picture of a section which too frequently has been regarded solely in terms of lynchings, clay-eaters and folksy politicians.

DANIEL AARON

America in Brief

A Short History of the United States, by Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager. New York: The Modern Library. 528 pages. 95 cents.

THIS is the third appearance, under a third title and at a third price, of what is possibly the best really *short*, one-volume history of our country. (The two earlier editions are here supplemented by a chapter on "The Second World War.") The qualities of style, judgment and the tone of this admirable work are fully conveyed in this representative passage:

> Politically this era of "normalcy" was one of dullness and incompetence, unrelieved except by the spectacular scandals of the Harding and the internecine party battles of the Hoover administrations. Never before had the government of the United States been more unashamedly the instrument of privileged groups; never before had statesmanship given way so unreservedly to politics. Warren G. Harding, an amiable but weak Senator from Ohio, was nominated to the presidency because no one knew anything against him, and elected because the country was weary of Wilsonian idealism. In the two and a-half years of his tenure of office his easygoing acquiescence in the exploitation of government by big business and his tolerance of gross corruption amply justified the expectations of those who looked for an end to idealism. Calvin Coolidge, who succeeded him, was a thoroughly mediocre politician, dour and unimaginative, thrifty of words and of ideas, devoted to the maintenance of the *status quo*, and morbidly suspicious of liberalism in any form. Herbert Hoover, who came to the presidency in 1929, was a man of far greater ability, with a reputation as an efficient executive, an international-minded statesman and a great humanitarian; in four years he managed to lose all three reputations and to make more and more serious errors of judgment than any President since Grant.

G. M.

Science and Society

South America Called Them, by Victor W. von Hagen. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 311 pages. $3.75.

SOON AFTER the discovery of South America, scientists braved the dangers of jungles, deserts and mountains to study its flora and fauna. The opening of this new continent to science is described around the lives of four explorer-naturalists, La Condamine, a Frenchman; von Humboldt, a German; and the Englishmen, Darwin and Spruce. Von Hagen, who spent ten fruitful years as explorer-naturalist in Latin America, has given us a brilliant, informative and very dramatic story.

With the change from feudal economy to merchant capital and manufacture two centuries ago, world trade demanded more accurate data concerning latitude, longitude, time and tides. This need sent Charles-Marie de La Condamine in 1735 from the halls of the French Academy of Sciences to the city of Quito, Ecuador, perched 9,348 feet above sea level. Here at the Equator, he and his party made measurements in astronomy, pendulum vibrations, gravity, air pressure, temperature, elevation, and the speed of sound. After seven years of experimentation they announced several important conclusions. The length of one degree of latitude is 69.1 miles, and the earth is an oblate spheroid as Isaac Newton had insisted.

Alexander von Humboldt also obtained permission from the King of Spain to explore South America in 1799. During his three years in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, many hitherto unknown plants and animals were sent to the zoos and herbariums of Europe. These were added to the strange, raccoon-like coati, the iguana, the small monkey marmoset, the curare poison plant, the coca leaf, and the dye-producing Brazilwood which earlier naturalists had brought back to the Old World. Humboldt also introduced the new fertilizer, guano, carefully described the powerful shock of the electric eel, and discovered the place where the Orinoco makes contact with the Amazon.

Humboldt died in 1859, the year which saw *Origin of Species* convulse the world. It was while Darwin was making his four-year voyage around South America on the Beagle that the theory of evolution was conceived. In 1835, on the volcanic desert islands of the Galápagos archipelago, six hundred miles from the mainland, young Darwin came face to face with 500-pound tortoises and strange, forbidding land iguanas which seemed to come straight out of the antediluvian past. Darwin recalled the fossil bones of extinct monsters which he had dug out of the ossuaries of Patagonia, and the whole complicated puzzle of the origin of species possessed him.

A few years later, Richard Spruce, a self-taught exschoolteacher, did for the botany of South America what Darwin had done for its zoölogy. For seventeen years Spruce, inspired by Darwin, lived and searched in the jungles of the Amazon; he enriched the world with more than 30,000 plants and gave India the seeds of the cinchona plant from which quinine is obtained.

Native South Americans added to the scientific information collected by these four men, but the major part of the work was done not by the people of this continent but by

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foreign scientists who swarmed over it for generations. During this period, North America, too, was opened to science. But here the men who scratched every acre of our land were chiefly Americans, lone, self-taught naturalists like John Bartram, Constantine Rafinesque and Thomas Say, or well trained college professors like James Dana, Louis Agassiz and Joseph Leidy. Our inventors, too, made prodigious contributions—cotton gin, steamboat, reaper, vulcanized rubber, telegraph, telephone, incandescent lamp, airplane and radio tube. In the realm of pure science our Franklins, Henrys and Gibbses were also making outstanding advances.

If we inquire into the reasons for this sharp difference, we cannot escape the conclusion that just as scientific discoveries and inventions change the social structure and the way of living of millions of people, similarly the social, economic and political climate of a nation determine both the amount and kind of its scientific contributions. Science thrives best in an atmosphere of freedom. People who have enjoyed liberty, free education and academic freedom have made the greatest advances in the sciences.

Scientists also need peace and stability. The paucity of first-rate achievements from South Americans was due, in large measure, to those social forces which were antagonistic to the development of scientific research. The long, bloody struggles among the rulers of Spain, the landed gentry and the enslaved and impoverished peons of South America, the innumerable revolutions and military dictatorships which discouraged education among the common people, the stifling of academic freedom (as, for example, to this very day in Argentina), all helped to prevent the flowering of latent, scientific talent.

Von Hagen, who has studied and written sympathetically about the peoples of South America, sees a brighter future for them. "South America," he says, "has still to reveal the inner core of her riches. It is a vigorous frontier of science." In the meantime, the story of those simple, forgotten men of science of South America who worked in biology, chemistry, physics, geology, paleontology and astronomy still waits to be written. The lives and achievements of the seventeenth-century Peruvian astronomer, Pedro de Peralta Barneuva, the eighteenth-century Colombian botanist, José Celestine Mutis, and many others, including the pioneer aeronaut of Brazil, Alberto Santos-Dumont, ought to be made available. It would be a welcome and fresh approach to better understanding and closer unity between the peoples of the two halves of the Western Hemisphere. It would be fortunate if von Hagen, now serving in the United States Army, turned to this task after the war, and gave us another authentic, lucid and lively book on the science of Latin America.

BERNARD JAFFE

A Reader's List

THE PUBLIC DEBT, by William Withers (John Day, $1.75). Professor Withers' little book is a useful exposition of the new theory of public debt. He subscribes to the modern view that the national debt can be converted into a powerful tool to combat the ravages of depression and underinvestment. Summarizing the current controversy between conservative writers such as Harold G. Moulton and John T. Flynn and the liberal economists of the Hansen-Keynes school, he presents a brief yet interesting history of the growth of the public debt. Professor Withers argues that absolute size is no cause for concern; a high national income can well support a heavy debt burden. It is more important to assure the maximum utilization of human and material resources. We must acquire a new perspective, says Professor Withers; the national debt will be but one of many instruments of public policy in the coming era of the mixed economy.

THE MAGIC YEAR, by Joachim Maas (L. B. Fischer, $2.75). Joachim Maas was a well known young writer in pre-Hitler Germany and *The Magic Year* is his first book to be published in this country. It is part of a projected trilogy and this fact is, perhaps, partially responsible for what seems like a lack of definition in its conception. The opening chapters deal with the reveries of a lonely German author in a snow-bound New England cabin. A transition to the author's childhood is managed by poetic suggestion but fails to provide a conviction of any psychological necessity. Again, although the account of the

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events of his eighth year in the picturesque port of Hamburg seems to be justified by a special significance, it is a significance that remains nebulous. As a consequence, despite a considerable talent for extensive poetic description, *The Magic Year* fails to hold the reader's attention and seems dominated by a mood of narcissistic reminiscence rather than an urge to understand through retrospection.

Crime and Punishment

A TIME TO DIE, by Hilda Lawrence (Simon and Schuster, $2). When Mary Cassidy, Joey Beacham's beloved governess, disappears the night of the Bear River church supper and is later found murdered, private investigator Mark East kisses his just begun vacation goodbye. There are a dozen likely suspects among the guests of the smart resort hotel where the Beachams are spending the summer, and only a clever piecing together of Miss Cassidy's past reveals the murderer. Readers of Miss Lawrence's first book, *Blood upon the Snow*, will meet some old friends in a pleasant if not too plausible tale.

STATE DEPARTMENT CAT, by Mary Plum (Crime Club, $2). It all began when Trouble, the State Department's cat, rubbed up against young George Stair just as he was going in to take his oral examination for foreign service. When Trouble touched you, things happened. So George discovers when the dispatch case he is given to deliver to an undersecretary is stolen. George's efforts to recover the papers not only unmask a smart Nazi espionage ring but get him a girl too. Nice sidelights on protocol, likable characters and a very good first hundred pages make this worth your while.

E. H.

Contributors

Potomacus is an office pseudonym.

Private Irwin Ross has been contributing to the *New Republic* since 1939. As an undergraduate, he was an editor of the *Harvard Progressive*. He is now in Paris in the Office of the Chief of Transportation, and writes, "In a bookshop in the Rue de Rivoli I ran across some *New Republics* for May and July, 1940, but nothing more recent for sale."

Alvin H. Hansen is Littauer Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University and adviser to the Federal Reserve Board.

Jerome Davis has recently returned from Moscow, where he was a correspondent for several newspapers and magazines.

David S. Burgess is employed by the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Church, as a minister and labor representative for agricultural migrant workers under the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and the Meat and Cannery Workers' Union (AFL).

Ralph Bates is the author of several novels and books of short stories as well as a biography, *Schubert*, published by Appleton-Century. He is now at work on a book on the music of Mozart.

Ben B. Seligman, commodity analyst for the OPA, is a frequent contributor to the *New Republic*.

Daniel Aaron is a member of the English Department at Smith College and director of the American Civilization Program there.

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